A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Lvov Affair"

NEW TIMES

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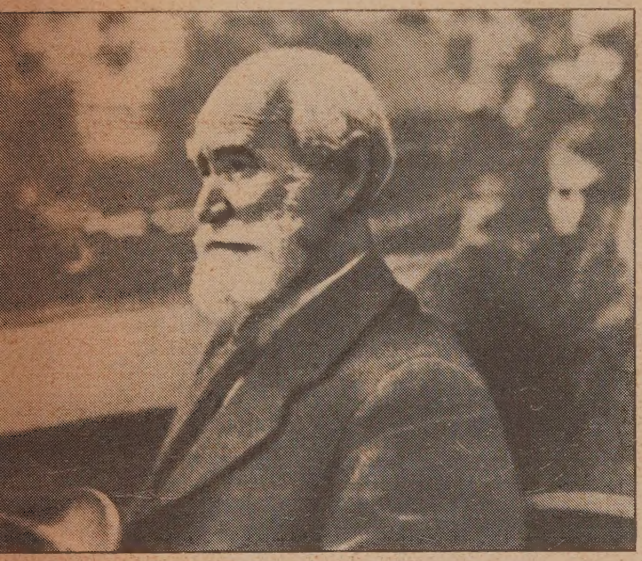
TIME AND PEOPLE

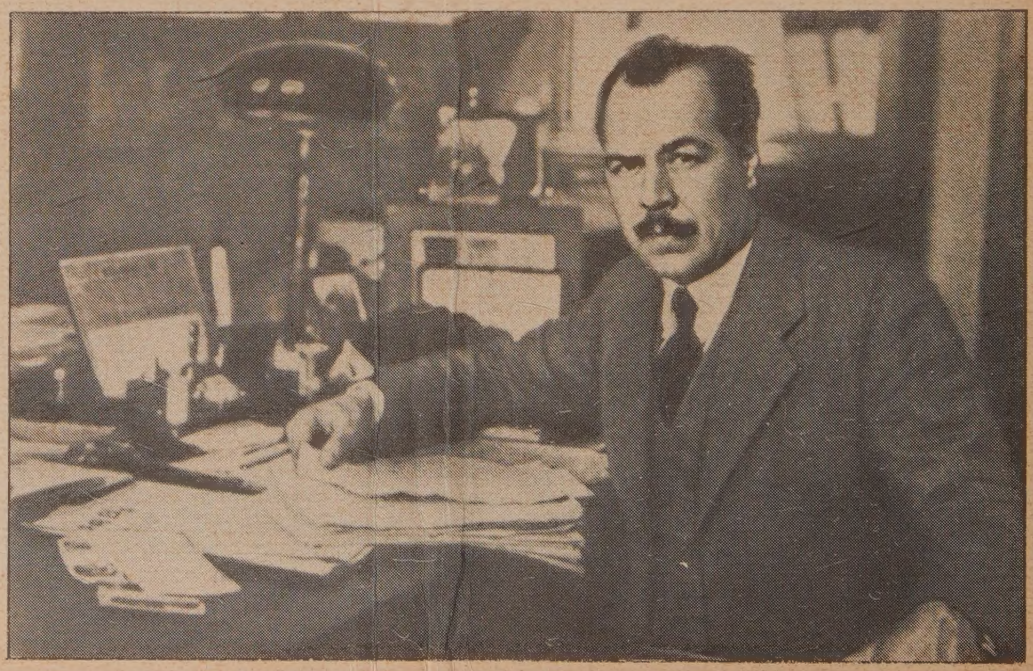
Nikolai Koltsov, Director of the Moscow Experimental Biology Institute, was compelled to lock up the Institute every night in person to stop young devotees of science work themselves to death.

The 1930s saw terrific Soviet scientific progress. It was then that a galaxy of Soviet scientists made themselves famous. They were entrusted with important assignments. Professors of 25 years of age were by no means rare then.

It was a troubled time when many values were reassessed, when scientists were judged not by their qualifications but by their knowledge and ingenuity, when students—mere teenagers—dared argue with celebrated savants without fear of being snubbed, when scientists contended themselves with only a few creature comforts but would not settle for less than a breakthrough in research and put the interests of science above their own.



In 1934, Pavel Cherenkov, a hitherto obscure postgraduate, discovered a new kind of liquid luminescence caused by gamma rays. The Cherenkov effect was included in all the textbooks, and Cherenkov himself was awarded a Nobel prize. Lev Landau, a young professor from Kharkov, drew a host of followers who subsequently formed the world-acclaimed Landau school. Many physicists destined to become world famous struck out on their own in those years.



Ivan Pavlov, the founder of a famous research school ● The first rocket to be built by Sergei Korolev ● Nikolai Vavilov, the inventor of artificial selection.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
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31

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EUROPEAN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

6th CONVENTION
COVENTRY

11

The results of the sixth convention of the Movement for European Nuclear Disarmament

NEW TIMES

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

In your magazine I read an article by Alexander Radov, "A flat within a year, and more..." Frankly, I envied the people you wrote about. My husband and I are both teachers, graduates of the Berdyansk teachers training college. My husband, I can say without exaggeration, is a good teacher, but he finds no use for his creative talents. Yet we would love to lead a full and interesting life like that of the people you wrote about. Please write more about life in our country.

L. OKHOMUSH
Donetsk region, U.S.S.R.

Today when everyone is talking about the "new thinking" in the Soviet Union and the need to act in a new way, I often hear a question that seems important to me: is it possible that the present perestroika could after some time start to roll back? I know that's what happened at the end of the fifties. Certainly, the road travelled by the U.S.S.R. in almost 70 years has been anything but smooth. There have been successes and failures, triumphs and setbacks. But I am convinced that the pace of the Soviet perestroika cannot be slowed down. First of all because its direct participants - the Soviet working people - don't want it to be.

RAIMUND ZIMPERNIK
Bad Ischl, Austria

From your magazine Soviet readers learn regularly of the number of American ships in the Persian Gulf. All we know about Soviet ships is that their number is "significantly smaller." If that is strategic information, who are we trying to hide it from? From ourselves? Americans, and for that matter, the world, know perfectly well how many Soviet ships there are in the Gulf.

PYOTR PETUKHOV
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

(For the editors' comment see p. 8.)

EDITORIAL

GLOBAL AND DOUBLE

There can be no doubts: the new Soviet proposals on medium-range and short-range nuclear missiles open up prospects that could not have been dreamt of even, say, a year or two ago. Having announced its readiness to do away with the missiles of these two classes on the whole of its vast territory from the Urals to the Pacific, the Soviet Union has with a single stroke resolved several problems that seemed inextricably bound up. It has removed Western Europe's fears (albeit groundless) that the missiles removed from Europe could again be brought into it from beyond the Urals. The views of Asian states have been taken into consideration. The Soviet Union did not cut through the knot; it carefully untied it and thereby created a new, highly promising situation at the Geneva talks.

This is not the time to begin predicting the concrete course events will take. Especially since from the West - apart from the, on the whole, positive reaction - one can already hear voices about "the devil who hides in details." Specifically, however, the "devil" is hidden in the attempts to exempt from the overall agreement the American warheads for the Pershing 1A missiles belonging to the West German Bundeswehr. But let us consider something else.

What does a global double solution, a global double zero mean? First of all, it directly confirms the effectiveness of the new mode of thinking proposed by our country and its allies. How much energy has been spent by militarist propaganda to brand the idea of a nuclear-free world and the abolition of nuclear weapons by the start of the 21st century as an "illusion," an "impossible dream" and a "castle in the air"! Yet it turns out that the dream is right there, to hand, and the nuclear-free European castle can be built. There already exists a real chance of removing from the most dangerous zone - Europe - two classes of nuclear missile weapons, not one (hence the double zero). And what's more, removing them also from another zone - the Asian-Pacific region (hence the global zero).

The second feature of the present situation is that it teaches us to understand each other, learn from past mistakes, one's own included. The Soviet Union has shown once again that for it, it is not a question of "propaganda" or "prestige." It's the substance that matters, and for its sake steps forward are being taken. But such steps presuppose that the other side meets you half way. An American commentator remarked that the U.S.S.R. has removed 80 per cent of the obstacles to agreement. Why shouldn't the U.S.A. remove the remaining 20 per cent? Although, to tell the truth, a fifty-fifty deal would be more in order.

The ball is now in Washington's court. Let it sum up all the pros and cons, and weigh up the possibility of continuing to ignore the worldwide trend towards seeking a way out of the deadlock. Washington knows how to ignore things. Numerous facts of the past weeks bear this out, including the deliberate fanning of the glowing embers of confrontation. We have many reasons for doubting the peace-making abilities of our partners. But the art of compromise includes the art of finding and strengthening in one's partner the ability to seek common grounds. We'll seek.

Times change. Three or four years ago the double-zero option sent a shiver down people's spines, because then it meant NATO's decision to deploy Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe. It's not only times that change, but terms as well. Today the double zero does not mean new missiles. It means their complete removal both from Europe and Asia.

AN IMPORTANT DIALOGUE

VOLODIA TEITELBOIM, Chilean publicist

I often forget everyday occurrences. But I remember that on Saturday, July 4, 1987, I did something out of character: on my way to the arrival lounge at Sheremetyevo airport I asked my companion for a flower from the bouquet he was carrying and explained: "It's for Mercedes." A minute or so later I saw, at the far end of the incoming passengers' tunnel, Mercedes Barcha's swarthy face crowned with a large white hat.

Slightly behind her, there flashed the smile of her husband, the well-known Colombian writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez, a Nobel Prize winner. I saw the first touches of grey in his close-cropped hair.

"You've lost some weight," I told him.

"Working too much," he replied nostalgically, with a far-away look in his eyes, and added: "Will there ever come a day when you see me in at Santiago Airport?"

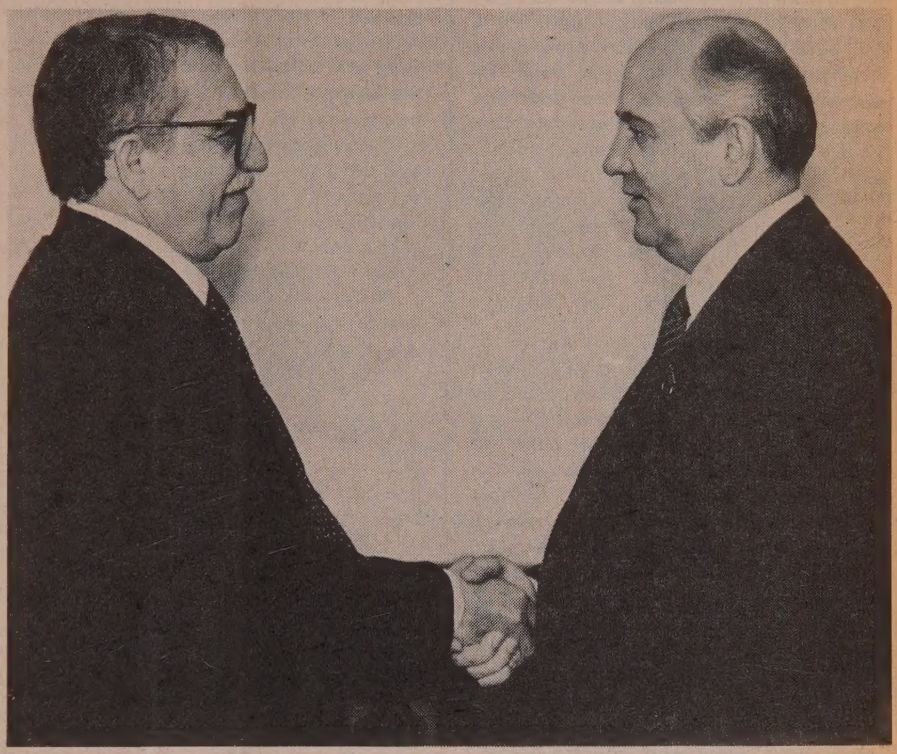
I asked him whether he was going to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev. It was not a casual question. It had a pre-history. When I was in Havana last November, Gabriel Garcia Marquez - commonly known as Gabo - called on me at noon one day. I had just finished reading his "Love Amidst the Plague" and asked what he was working on then.

"On a novel with Bolivar* as the principal character," he replied. "I described his short trip along the Magdalena River. In the enormous bibliography devoted to the Liberator, this fact is merely mentioned but not elaborated upon. The episode has remained largely obscure. I have filled the gap with a story revolving around Bolivar as I imagine him."

I have always noted Garcia Marquez' eager readiness to tell you what he is working on at the moment. I have already heard from the writer all the details of the horrible and magnificent story later named "Chronicle of an Announced Death." I know that this is a method he uses in his work. As he gives you a rundown on a story, he adds details and puts finishing touches to it in his mind.

At that time Garcia Marquez was preoccupied with the idea of establishing a Latin American Cinema Foundation.

"I asked Fidel to help us set up a school which 150 movie-makers from developing countries could attend at a time," he told me. "Make it 500," Castro had replied. At about 1 p.m. I asked the writer when he was going to visit the Soviet Union, where many friends wanted to see him. "In April," he said. "But I'm going there at the invitation of doctors, not writers." Sensing my surprise he explained, tongue in cheek: "Yes, I'm a doctor who wants peace on earth. During the conference of the Six in Ixtapa, I had a talk with Dr Lown, who invited me to an international meeting of doctors for peace to be held in Moscow in May-June. I intend to go to the Soviet Union. The time has come. I should like to meet Mikhail Gorbachev."



I don't know why Garcia Marquez did not visit the Soviet Union then. Finally, there came the day in July when he arrived in the Soviet Union not as a physician, but as President of the Latin American Cinema Foundation, a guest of honour of the Moscow Film Festival. During our talk in Havana I had realized he wanted to go to Moscow out of the desire to see the processes at work in Soviet society with his own eyes and probably even to meet the man who represents this process in his person. When I asked him, at the airport, whether he thought such a meeting possible, he replied: "I hope so. I am thinking about what to tell him. I'll suggest that he visit Latin America. What will he say to that, I wonder?"

I told Garcia Marquez that the Soviet leader was generally known to be extremely sociable. He brings up a lot of subjects in his talks, I told Garcia Marquez, and it will be excellent for Latin America if he receives you, and you discuss everything.

Fit for a future anthology

At 9 p.m. on July 16 I saw Gabriel Garcia Marquez wearing a suit and tie. I recalled that in his fantastical and funny

*Simon Bolivar (1783-1830), the Venezuelan patriot, statesman and general. A leader of the war for the independence of the Spanish colonies in America in 1810-26.

memoirs entitled "A Visit to the Pope" he confessed that he had bought his first tie for twenty years specially for the occasion. Now I, along with the millions of Soviet TV-viewers, saw him in the Soviet Union. He looked happy. His dream had come true. He stood next to Mikhail Gorbachev, and both of them were smiling.

I hadn't seen Garcia Marquez since meeting him at the airport. I was told later that his talk with the Soviet leader had lasted an hour and a half. The Colombian writer was delighted, and bubbled with good humour.

"I couldn't even have imagined that this would happen to me," he shared his impressions afterwards. "I had a talk with a General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who is younger than I am."

The event was unusual for me, too. For the first time in 14 years, a talk like that was translated (albeit only in part) word for word on the television programme Vremya, which I make a point of watching every evening. I consider this unique. The politician and statesman, whom I regard as the foremost today, and the No. 1 writer of our times, exchanged views. The conversation was so cordial and significant that sometime in the future it is certain to be found worthy of inclusion in an anthology entitled "Dialogues of the 20th Century."

The dialogue opened with the words that have swept the world like clarion calls, and which have been welcomed by all people of good will: perestroika and glasnost. They embody not only the renovation of Soviet society, but also the new thinking of our epoch. "Are we really not wise enough to arrive at mutual understanding, to prevent the world from blowing up because we are different?" Mikhail Gorbachev inquired. "If perestroika, if what you are doing, is carried through," Garcia Marquez replied, "this will be the most important event in modern history. I have many friends in Latin America who are enthusiastic about what you are doing."

Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that this revolution within the revolution stemmed from the achievements of socialism and common human values. I think that a man like Garcia Marquez was presumed to be especially sensitive to this aspect of the problem. "The policy we are conducting at present," the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee explained, "is not meant merely to create a favourable impression. It is an objective need, a socially conditioned process. The country is ripe for change."

The Latin American writer was certainly impressed by the Soviet leader's words: "We do not aspire to a monopoly on the truth, and we heed the opinions of others."

The author of "Innocent Erendira," who considers himself a realist wedded to fantasy, must have felt he had found a kindred spirit when he heard the following words from the Soviet leader: "We have a great need for creative imaginations now." Garcia Marquez must have perceived the analogy between the tasks of a statesman and those of a writer, as well as the fact that the reconstruction of society and the effort to save mankind from the bomb can combine the strict requirements of science with the aesthetic qualities of works of art.

Garcia Marquez made it quite clear that he saw eye to eye with Mikhail Gorbachev. "Words fail me to convey the way I feel. Your statements coincide with my opinions, and the views I have heard expressed by my friends in Latin America..." He then added that many of his writer friends wished the new Soviet leadership steady progress, without a step backwards. "You may rest assured," he went on, "that Latin American intellectuals are on your side. They are following what is going on in the Soviet Union, your perestroika, with tremendous interest."

The author of the melancholy tale "No-one Writes to the Colonel" is now full of enthusiasm. "The most important event of the past few years for me," he admitted, "has been today's meeting. I am happy it has materialized."

Garcia Marquez affords the Soviet reader an insight not only into Latin America, but also into man. The author of "The Patriarch's Autumn" pointed out that the Russian editions of his books were second only to Spanish ones in size.

An invitation

A leitmotif of Mikhail Gorbachev's remarks to the Colombian writer was: "democracy must gain in scale and depth." "The reform in the ideological and cultural spheres comes hardest," he noted. And added: "As I was reading your works - 'A Hundred Years of Solitude' and others - I felt they had not been forced into any pattern, that they were imbued with love for people, for mankind." It has indeed been proved that trying to force things into a rigid pattern is equally useless and harmful in literature and politics.

What is now being done to renovate Soviet society has nothing to do with renouncing the past, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed. It must be assessed from the dialectical point of view. "I think," the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out, "that we must cherish every day that has passed since the October Revolution." Even the hardest days have not been in vain. All this is our history. How can one fail to show respect for the generations that laid the foundations of socialism and have enabled us to make progress today? There have certainly been mistakes, tragedies even. But look at the colossal successes we have achieved, thanks to the efforts of the Party and the people. There is no nation without historical roots. A tree without roots withers away and perishes."

These words by Mikhail Gorbachev drew a ready response from Garcia Marquez. "The most important thing is," he said, "not to waste your own life, and to make life better for othes. All you are saying touches me to the quick, and makes me think of the future of my country, of Latin America. People there are showing enormous interest in your policy. They hope you will visit Latin America."

On being invited to visit Latin American countries, Mikhail Gorbachev shared his ideas about Latin America: "I am greatly interested in that continent and ponder over its fate. It is a continent of enormous potential and rich in traditions. For all their problems, the peoples of that continent crave a better future. There are great obstacles in their way, of which you are aware. The road to freedom is a hard one. Nevertheless I am sure that Latin America's progress will gain in momentum. I hope to get to know your continent better."

I believe these succinct phrases stand for a sincere desire to learn more about Latin America and to establish closer relations with its peoples. I am sure Gabriel Garcia Marquez was right when he told Mikhail Gorbachev that "a visit by him to Latin America would mean a great deal to all the progressive forces of the continent."

Mikhail Gorbachev's words "The road to freedom is a hard one" struck a responsive chord in me as a Chilean.

It was not merely a talk between two men. To a certain extent, it was a talk between two civilizations, between dynamic Soviet society and Latin America, struggling for its daily bread and justice. The meeting furnished further convincing evidence of the fact that if politics and literature aim at benefitting man, they are capable of saving him and realizing his age-old dreams of a better future.

This is what the two outstanding figures of our times talked about. These dreams pervaded the dialogue between two men, at once so different and so alike - Mikhail Gorbachev and Gabriel Garcia Marquez. The Soviet statesman, the reformer of the present, is a dreamer who never lapses into utopia, a practical worker towards the third millennium. The Latin American wants to put an end to "a hundred years of solitude" and five hundred years of oppression, and he too is optimistic about the future.

■

"A splendid view of Syria..."

The major programme of the Soviet-Syrian space experiment marks a qualitatively new step in the fruitful cooperation between the two countries.

"No words can describe my happiness!" Mohammed Faris exclaimed during the space TV bridge that linked him with the President of his country, Hafez Assad. "I can see practically all of Syria," he continued, "the coast, the mountains, the lakes, Damascus. It's a marvellous sight!" "Our thoughts are with you and we are following the reports on your outstanding flight," President Assad told him. "We all believe that you are aware of your responsibility. And we hope the scientific experiments you are to carry out with your Soviet colleagues will produce the required scientific and economic results."

As the message from Mikhail Gorbachev to the crew of the Mir-Soyuz complex underlined, "the flight is a manifestation of the developing ties in the scientific field, and a qualitatively new step in the many-faceted and fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic. It vividly demonstrates the peaceful purposes of our cooperation in space research and will go down as a striking page in the annals of the development and strengthening of Soviet-Syrian friendship."

The results of the experiment Euphrates are eagerly awaited in Syria. While flying over Syria the cosmonauts carried out a series of visual observation, photographed its territory and did a spectrometric survey. The data they collected will make it possible more accurately to define the country's agro-resources, and will help both geologists and hydrologists. The information is also needed by the services that control the pollution of the atmosphere and coastal waters.

Life in space is coming increasingly to resemble life on earth. People work there, sleep, eat, read, rub shoulders with their friends... To judge that life from what is shown on our TV screens, we get a picture of strong and confident men, who know their job perfectly, and are in good spirits. The impression is that life in space is not all that hard. Perhaps we owe that impression to the TV reports, which stress the achievements and say nothing about the long and difficult path that leads to them.

This time, too, when on our TV screens and in the papers we saw the smiling faces of the four Soviet cosmonauts and their Syrian colleague, some people might have thought how easy it all is.

But what about the months and even years of hard training? The intensive special training? The nervous stress? And finally the sheer physical strain at take-off and in flight? And the Syrian cosmonaut had two barriers to go through - the sound barrier and the language barrier.

Chief of the Cosmonauts Training Centre Vladimir Shatalov with Syrian cosmonauts Mohammed Faris (centre) and Mounir Habib.

TASS photo

Mohammed Faris fitted well into the international crew that took off on July 22 on the space ship "Soyuz TM-3." Its commander was Alexander Viktorenko, and its flight engineer Alexander Alexandrov who had already made a space flight in 1983.

As envisaged by the programme, on July 24 it docked with the scientific-research complex "Mir," where they were awaited by Yuri Romanenko and Alexander Laveikin, who had been working on that station for almost six months.

The five cosmonauts then began working together. They carried out a series of measurments for the experiment Bosra. It was designed to obtain new information on the physical processes at work in the upper layers of the atmosphere and in the ionosphere. Another joint Soviet-Syrian experiment Qasyun aimed at studying specific features of the crystallization of metal alloys in conditions of weightlessness, using a Crystalizer apparatus. The Ruchey installation was used to purify genetically-engineered interferon and a drug to combat flu. And the purpose of yet another installation Svetlana was to isolate active microorganisms producing antibiotics for use in stock-farming. Medical research was also conducted throughout the flight.

Speaking of medicine. A journey in space is a serious matter and requires great care. We were reminded of this by the announcement that after the completion of joint research, A.Alexandrov will take over from A.Laveikin. During tests to diagnose physical strain, certain features were noted in the reaction of Laveikin's cardio-vascular system. Although this has not affected his well-being and ability to work, it was hard to predict how things would develop. The other space voyagers are in good shape, according to the data supplied by medical instruments. The crew worked well together.

VLADIMIR ZHITOMIRSKY

A new-generation radar for SDI

● THE UNITED STATES HAS BLATANTLY VIOLATED THE SOVIET-AMERICAN ABM TREATY OF 1972.

The new American radar station (RS) with a new large phased array radars has become operational in Thule (Greenland).

In other words, the U.S.A. has directly violated the anti-ballistic missile treaty, which was signed for unlimited duration. It has violated two of its provisions - article VI and the agreed statement "F."

Let us explain the form the violations have taken. The job of the new RS is to warn of approaching strategic ballistic missiles. Under the treaty, such stations can be built only on peripheral national territory and must be directed internally. Greenland is far from being America's 51st state.

American experts maintain that the new station is only a modernized old one and there is therefore no violation of the treaty. That is not so. In the 60's the U.S. did indeed modernize its radar stations in Thule. The Soviet Union knew this, but did not object. But when about two years ago Soviet national technical facilities registered that the construction of a new station had begun in Thule, the Soviet Union warned that such actions were incompatible with the treaty. Washington took no notice. Now the 5 old radar stations in Thule have been replaced by an entirely new one (construction of a similar one has started on Fylingdales Moor in England). Its power capacity greatly exceeds the limit permitted by the ABM treaty. It surveys an area of 240 degrees for more than 5,000 km. and processes data 100 times more quickly. It is these features, according to the military, that are of decisive significance in detecting missiles and warheads. In other words, the new station can cope with the ABM defence tasks envisaged by SDI.

Washington is seeking to justify its actions by pointing to the Soviet RS being built near Krasnoyarsk. The Soviet Union has repeatedly explained that the Krasnoyarsk station is designed to track space objects and therefore does not violate the treaty. This can easily be checked by U.S. national technical facilities. Moreover, the Soviet Union was prepared to close down its station (if the U.S. did the same) since it is being used by the American side as a pretext. This proposal was rejected.

In 1971, when Richard Nixon was President, plans to "modernize" the RS at Thule were shelved because it would have violated the provisions of the treaty then being drafted. In 1980 the U.S. Air Force rejected the idea of building a new RS as it could cause "potential ABM treaty conflicts."

But after March 1983, when Ronald Reagan made public his SDI programme, Washington abandoned its shyness and got down seriously to undermining the treaty. It began by interpreting its provisions more broadly and is now making the new RS - the ground component of SDI - operational.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry statement described these actions as direct violations of the treaty. The full responsibility for any unfavourable consequences, it stated, rests with the United States.

DMITRY POGORZHELSKY

Washington in a hurry

The organization responsible for implementing SDI has a new department dealing with regional anti-missile defence systems. Its attention is now focused on Western Europe, where Washington is planning to deploy a tactical system of anti-missile defence. Even a deadline has been set - not later than 1989-90.

First, as a senior expert from the SDI Organization, who recently visited Europe, said, the purpose of the manouevre is to give a new impulse to the Star Wars Programme. Things are not going as well as the Administration and the Pentagon would like - experts are showing increasing scepticism about the technical possibilities of implementing it, as well as about its military effectiveness. Hence doubts about the need for the immense allocation to SDI and the resulting cutbacks in money for the programme. That is why it is so important for Washington to get at least a European version approved.

Secondly, the European version could prove to be a testing ground for the scientific and engineering problems of SDI. Washington also hopes that if its European allies join in setting up such a system, they could produce many valuable ideas. That would help accelerate the early deployment of SDI at the beginning of the nineties.

Thirdly, up to now the general public and politicians in Europe have not made the European version an object of close scrutiny. But the moment they do, it could trigger off a wave of protests against this new round of the arms drive. In view of this, according to the above American expert, West Europeans should be prepared as soon as possible - both morally and psychologically - for the deployment in the near future of ground components of SDI on the continent.

Now, when the possibility of a double zero option on nuclear armaments in Europe is definitely looking promising, it is likely to be much harder. That is why Washington is in such a hurry.

MIKHAIL PUTINKOVSKY

PAKISTAN - U.S.A.

Stretching a point

● ANOTHER PAKISTANI SPY WHO ATTEMPTED ILLEGALLY TO ACQUIRE ONE MORE COMPONENT FOR ISLAMABAD'S NUCLEAR PROGRAMME HAS BEEN ARRESTED IN THE UNITED STATES.

"Trust is like a marriage certificate," President Zia ul-Haq once told the Americans. "You don't have to keep waving it under your wife's nose." That oriental but obvious hint should be translated as follows: trust Islamabad's official statements that the country has no military nuclear programme, and stop waving your laws and amendments at us; don't threaten to deprive your Pakistani ally of American aid for its nuclear ambitions. A bust-up would hurt you too....

Pakistan believes, however, that for it "peccadillos" are permissible. In the summer of 1984 Nazir Ahmed Vaid, a Pakistani citizen, was arrested in Houston when attempting secretly to take out of the United States krytrons - the switches that detonate atom bombs. Congressmen were indignant, but President Zia ul-Haq explained off-handedly that krytrons were intended for ambulance cars. And calm reigned again.

Shortly afterwards the President himself, in an interview for Time magazine, said that Pakistan already had the ability to make an atom bomb. But this provoked no charges of disloyalty, let alone any administrative measures.

Now come two more blows to the surprising trustfulness of

the American partner. In mid-July a Canadian citizen of Pakistani origin, Arshad Pervez, was arrested in Philadelphia. He was trying to buy and ship to Pakistan 25 tons of specially alloyed steel for a dressing plant forming part of a complex for the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

A week later it was learned in Washington that a Hong Kong businessman, Long Yu Hung, had been arrested. Between July 1982 and August 1983 he had made 15 deliveries of modern equipment, including osciloscopes (which can be used to analyze the explosive components of a nuclear bomb), from the United States to Hong Kong. From there they were sent on to Pakistan.

The Washington Post is now reporting a crisis of confidence in the United States with regard to Pakistan. Congressman Stephen Solarz is indignant: Pakistan, he insists, had displayed outrageous contempt for American laws. "If we don't enforce the law (U.S. aid must be stopped if Pakistan illegally tries to buy American materials for the manufacture of a nuclear device - **L.Y.**), it will make a mockery of our non-proliferation policy," Solarz said.

"Enforcement of the law" in this particular case would mean cancelling the 4,000 million dollar military and economic aid to Pakistan that is due to start on October 1 (when the first aid programme for 3,200 million dollars, begun in 1981, ends). Will Washington do that?

After the arrest of the Pakistani citizen Vaid, Solarz and a number of other Congressmen called for strict punishment for a nuclear deceit. But it all ended typically: Vaid was allowed to make a deal with the court, which passed a most lenient sentence (not a word about the nuclear use of krytrons) and within a couple of weeks he was deported - or just put on a flight to Islamabad.

Vaid's lawyer offered a simple explanation: "We are friendly with Pakistan." And the Washington Post elucidated later: "Pakistan has been a good friend of the United States." Cutting back aid or attaching **unrealistic strings** (underlined by me - **L.Y.**) will therefore do no good, the newspaper added.

To adhere to the policy of nuclear non-proliferation is unrealistic, as it runs counter to U.S. military and strategic aims in the region. General George Crist, chief of the U.S. Central Command, recently visited Pakistan (for the third time in the last 18 months). He was apparently reassured that American P-3 Orion spy planes could continue to use Pakistani bases and that American warships could, as before, call at Pakistani ports. He was told of the 32 new air force bases in Beluchistan province, which are at the service of the rapid deployment forces.

The United States, for its part, is planning shortly to deliver more Stinger missiles to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries - through Pakistan, as usual.

What would you call that if not a good foundation for trust? And what could possibly undermine it?

LEV YELIN

"Human rights again! But is he white or black!"

Drawing by Vsevolod Arsenyev

SOUTH AFRICA

Whites versus apartheid

● THERE IS GROWING OPPOSITION TO THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID AMONG THE WHITE COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA. AND AT THE SAME TIME THERE IS A DESIRE FOR CONTACTS WITH THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) WHICH IS LEADING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RACIST REGIME.

This was borne out by the meeting in mid-July in Dakar (Senegal) between a delegation of the ANC and a big group (more than fifty in all) of white South Africans, mostly Afrikaners. The group included businessmen, scientists, writers and church leaders. They said that they had decided to take the initiative in starting a dialogue between the two main political forces in South Africa - the Afrikaners, the power base of the present regime, and the African nationalists - in order to find a democratic alternative to the present inhuman system.

First of all, the whites wanted to hear directly from the African National Congress what kind of political system it seeks to establish in South Africa. And when they heard the answer they expressed complete agreement with it. Apartheid must be abolished completely and South Africa become a democratic state founded on a non-racial basis.

Possible ways and means were discussed for the transition to a democratic society, as well as prospects for uniting all opponents of racism, and operating as a united front.

Although the white participants in the meeting opposed the armed struggle now being waged under the ANC's leadership, they recognized it as a "historic reality," and agreed that it was impossible to demand that the ANC discontinue it, since the Pretoria authorities themselves widely resort to the use of force. But the Afrikaners underlined that this did not mean "they would support an armed struggle."

The representatives of the white community also raised the question of the protection of minority rights. One of the organizers of the meeting, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said that no group of the population should be able to dominate another, whether white or black. The African National Congress does not dispute the right of whites to live in South Africa, but, as the leader of the delegation, Thabo Mbeki, pointed out, it does oppose any kind of "privileges and special rights" for the white minority. As the ANC envisages it, South Africa should be a multi-party state in which the majority party and the minority party would enjoy equal rights.

Pretoria condemned the Dakar meeting because it boosted the prestige of the ANC. But this kind of logic confuses cause and consequence. What prompted the Afrikaners to go to Dakar was the prestige enjoyed by the ANC throughout the world. If it were otherwise, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz would hardly have invited ANC leader Oliver Tambo to Washington for a dialogue.

The African National Congress enjoys immense support inside South Africa. Not for nothing did F. van Zyl Slabbert say in Dakar that waging war against the ANC means waging war against the people of South Africa. Such a war cannot be won.

YURI BOCHKARYOV

G.D.R.

Amnesty announced

● THE COUNCIL OF STATE OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC HAS ANNOUNCED A GENERAL AMNESTY AND ABOLISHED THE DEATH SENTENCE.

Practically all those sentenced for violations of the law qualify for this amnesty. The exceptions are those sentenced for nazi and war crimes, crimes against humanity, espionage or murder. People with life sentences will have them commuted to 15 years.

Local government bodies are obliged to ensure that all who qualify the amnesty should have every possibility of returning to a normal life. This includes finding them jobs, according to skills, retraining, the provisions of homes and all-round public support. At the same time, if a person who has received the opportunity to begin a new life violates the law within three years of his release, the sentence that is now being lifted will again come into force.

For many years the death sentence has existed only in theory in the G.D.R. The Republic's criminal code, the amnesty document notes, contains all the necessary legal prerequisites to ensure the all-round protection of socialist society and its citizens without resorting to death sentence. Moreover, its abolition is in keeping with UN recommendations to eliminate this form of punishment everywhere.

The local press points out that these decisions have become possible thanks to the country's increased political stability and its economic and social progress. That is the primary reason for the decrease of crime in the country. The G.D.R. is one of the ten countries in the world with the lowest level of violations of the law.

The Berliner Zeitung reported that the number of crimes committed in 1986 was the lowest for the past 25 years - 110,768. More than half of them were crimes against property, and only 4 per cent serious crimes. More than 70 per cent of the measures taken to combat crime in the G.D.R. do not involve imprisonment.

V. CHUDOV

Berlin

READER'S QUESTION ANSWERED

A protective measure

The magazine asked the chief of the Persian Gulf Desk at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, A.Ivanov-Golitsyn, to reply to a question from reader P.Petukhov about the Soviet presence in the Persian Gulf **(see page 2.)**

The presence of three Soviet warships in the Persian Gulf is solely a temporary and emergency measure, he said. They were sent to the area to escort our merchant ships, including three Soviet tankers chartered by Kuwait on a purely commercial basis to transport its oil. Our warships found themselves in the Persian Gulf at a time of crisis and when a threat to merchant shipping had arisen. They operate only in international waters. The purpose of their presence is to ensure the safety of the tankers, not to carry out military operations, let alone affirm our military presence in the region, as is now being done by the United States. The Soviet Union does not insist on the ships being given any naval privileges or bases, and it is not using them to put pressure on the countries of the region.

New promise for Asia

A double zero agreement is possible! The global significance of this announcement by Mikhail Gorbachev overshadowed the significance of the purely Asian initiatives put forward in the same interview for the Indonesian paper Merdeka. Yet they too are very important.

The elimination of Soviet missiles in the Asian part of the U.S.S.R. guarantees that no American ones will be deployed in Alaska would in itself have been a major contribution to reducing tension in the Asian-Pacific region. However, Moscow's latest offer goes further.

The Soviet Union:

is prepared not to increase the number of aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons in the east of the country, if the U.S.A. refrains from deploying in the region additionally nuclear missiles capable of reaching the territory of the U.S.S.R.;

proposes an agreement with the U.S.A. on reducing the activity of the Soviet and the American fleets in the Pacific Ocean, and on restricting areas accessible to ships with nuclear weapons on board;

suggests limiting, in the interests of greater confidence, the number and scale of naval manoeuvres in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and adjacent seas, and renouncing them altogether in international straits.

Year after year Washington has postponed or, to be more exact sabotaged, the convening of an International conference on the Indian Ocean to implement the U.N. Declaration on turning it into a zone of peace. It is now evident that such a conference is unlikely to take place before 1990. Yet the situation in the Indian Ocean is deteriorating and becoming increasingly tense. That is why it is high time international guarantees were drawn up for the safety of marine and air communications in the Indian Ocean and the adjoining seas, straits and gulfs (the situation in the Persian Gulf alone speaks volumes!). Collective measures against terrorism at sea and on air communications over this ocean are essential.

These ideas substantially advance the programme put forward a year ago by the Soviet leader in Vladivostok. It has become clear that it is a profound and comprehensive programme for strengthening security and expanding promising peaceful cooperation between all countries of Asia and the Pacific, big and small.

There is a growing movement in the region in favour of setting up nuclear-free zones; more and more countries are closing their ports to ships with nuclear weapons, and including anti-nuclear principles in their constitutions thus showing a natural distaste for nuclear weapons.

Initiatives from all countries of the region are extremely valuable if measures are to be taken to reduce military tension, settle local, regional conflicts and put out the flames of war wherever they appear.

India's patient mediation in resolving the ethnic problems of Sri-Lanka seem to be bearing fruit. Almost on the same day as the publication of the Soviet leader's interview for a Jakarta paper, the government of the KPDR came out with a radical initiative. It proposed carrying out in 1988-91 a stage-by-stage reduction in the armed forces of its country and South Korea. Very big cuts that would leave each side with 100,000 men (with the simultaneous stage-by-stage evacuation of American troops and military bases from the South) are envisaged. And as a goodwill gesture, Pyongyang is to cut down its own armed forces by 100,000 men before the end of this year.

In Afghanistan the situation is gradually changing, thanks to the leadership's policy of national reconciliation. The idea of a coalition government has been put forward. It would include representatives of all forces seeking an end to bloodshed. "In principle the question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has been decided," Mikhail Gorbachev stressed. "We are in favour of shortening the period of their withdrawal. However, interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs must be stopped and there must be guarantees that it will not be resumed."

In Kampuchea too it looks as if the idea of national reconciliation is gradually making headway. There, too, dialogue must prevail over confrontation. And there, too, a coalition of national forces is possible. The deadline for the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces has been named - 1990.

How many-faceted and vast is that region of our planet that stretches from the Urals and the Middle East to the western shores of the two Americas in the east and to the silent Antarctic in the south. Asia, the Pacific and Indian Oceans. It was the cradle of the oldest civilization, today it is where almost two thirds of the world's population live.

On the climate that prevails there the climate of the world depends.

ALEXANDER USVATOV

CUBA - U.S.A.

The CIA's war

●CUBAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAVE SHARPLY DETERIORATED.

The latest reports from Washington are full of "noble indignation": two Cuban diplomats have been expelled from the United States in response to the "intolerable" anti-American campaign in Cuba.

It all began with the showing in Havana of the TV documentary series "The CIA's war against Cuba." The republic's state security service provided journalists with irrefutable proof and concrete evidence of the criminal activities of the "quiet Americans," who operated in Havana from a section of the Swiss embassy, which represents U.S. interests in Cuba.

Cuban intelligence agents who penetrated the network of CIA agents and "collaborated" with them for many years said that the men from Langley were primarily interested in information on the activities of Fidel Castro, apparently in view to make an attempt on the Cuban leader's life.

After these diclosures a mass protest demonstration took place outside the Swiss embassy. According to information made public, four CIA agents still remain in the embassy and are working permanently in Cuba. One of them is press attaché Donald Sheeham, who is now supplying the American press with sob stories about the plight of the "suffering" Americans in Cuba. Incidentally, the American side has made no attempt to dispute the revelations that have been made.

As from 1980, thanks to the Pentagon's efforts, the Caribbean is being turned into a launching pad for an attack on Cuba. Many U.S. naval ships have been moved there from the Atlantic and a new military communications infrastructure has been set up. Large-scale manouevres have been held. Leaks to the press from Caspar Weinberger's secret instructions indicate that the Pentagon is busy planning a non-nuclear war in the area.

Because of U.S. provocations Havana has been compelled to amend its concept of defence - it must now be ready for war. As Fidel Castro has said, every Cuban must know clearly what he should do and where to report for duty, should an American aggression be unleashed.

YURI KUDIMOV

The Right has won the parliamentary election held recently in Portugal. Below are examined reasons for this

Swing to the right

VALERY VOLKOV

Several teams of workers, fitted with ladders, scrapers, nippers and pails, were assigned by Lisbon's municipal council to clean up the city following the July 19 election to the Assembly of the Republic (parliament). They tore down paper and plastic posters, slogans and portraits of leaders of the main parties and painted over the Vote for... signs daubed on walls of houses.

While the city fathers were calculating the cost of "operation clean-up" (estimated at 50 million-plus escudos), the contestants in the just concluded election race were busy with calculations of a different order.

On the night of July 20 the computers of the national election commission recorded what support one or other candidate had enjoyed in the constituencies. The lists of candidates had been put up by 12 parties and one coalition, but the 250 seats of the Assembly were distributed among only five of them.

The conservative Social Democratic Party (SDP) won a solid victory, taking over 50 per cent of the vote and obtaining 146 seats in parliament. A clear majority will allow it to form a one-party government.

The Constitution of Portugal does not make it obligatory for the leader of the party gaining the majority of seats to become premier. But no one doubts that the consultations between parties on the voting results (envisaged in the basic law of the country) will end as expected: 48-year-old professor of economics and SDP leader Cavaco Silva will again be appointed the premier.

The new cabinet (the 18th since the overthrow of the fascist regime on April 25, 1974) is expected to be the most stable. For the first time in 13 years one party has won outright control of the Assembly.

The years following the Revolution of Carnations have been a period of intense political struggle. The planned offensive of the right on the gains of the April revolution has consistently been checked by stubborn resistance from the democratic forces. This explains why general elections have been held seven times during this period.

Voters have tired of political instability, and this explains to a large extent why over half the electorate voted for the government that had been in office over the last 18 months. The factors that contributed to the SDP's victory included the favourable economic situation (the fall in oil prices and the exchange rate of the dollar), the powerful support of national and international financial groups, and the control of the right over news media, especially television. A number of social measures carried out by the SDP government in the last 18 months also brought the party the votes of some sections of the workers, pensioners and young people whose condition had slightly improved.

The Social Democrats, it was predicted, would have been able to win and gain a majority only in alliance with the ultra-right Social Democratic Centre (SDC). The leaders of the Centre had from the outset had to contend with the inevitable exodus of many of its voters to the Social Democrats and claimed only a modest auxiliary role. However, the exodus grew into a veritable mass defection. As a result, the SDC took a heavy beating, losing half its voters.

An even greater setback was suffered by the Party for Democratic Renovation (PDR) led by General Ramalho Eanes, a former president of Portugal. Its strength in parliament has dwindled from 45 seats to 7.

A slight (less than two per cent) increase in the Socialist Party's share of the vote and the loss of eight seats by the Coalition for Democratic Unity go to show that the democratic parties have sustained an electoral defeat. The underdog parties are now analysing the reasons of their failure.

It will be recalled that the dissolution of parliament and resignation of the minority Social Democratic cabinet resulted from the vote of no-confidence passed by the parties of the left early in April. Though the Socialists, the Communists and the Party for Democratic Renovation had the majority needed to form a government and thus try to put an end to the political crisis, President Soares preferred to announce an early generaly election.

Progressive newspapers wrote at the time that the head of state had in fact met all the demands advanced by the right, led by the Prime Minister: he initiated an election campaign and asked the Silva cabinet to carry out its duties till the formation of a new government.

True, the leaders of the democratic opposition parties and the Socialist Party's general secretary Vitor Constancio had not themselves shown much interest in finding an alternative way out of the crisis. The Socialist leader hoped that the forthcoming election would consolidate his position in the party and even get the upper hand over the Social Democrats. Therefore, he virtually ignored the opinion of the Communists, the Party for Democratic Renovation and the Portuguese Democratic Movement, who called for the formation of a government based on the opposition majority.

In the end, the inter-party haggling and the Socialists' desire to "drown" the supporters of General Eanes and deal a blow to the Communist Party prevailed. This disunity, revealed more clearly in the course of preparations for the election, played into the hands of the Social Democrats, who most of all feared a united front of the left. The flexible and realistic position adopted by the Communists, who had from the outset called for dialogue and mutual understanding, was actually rejected by the Socialist Party.

The anti-communist bias of the Socialist leaders and the inconsistent stand taken by the Party for Democratic Renovation played their fatal role, undermining the confidence of voters in these parties. This cleared the way for the right to power.

Another major shortcoming in the Socialists' and the PDR's election campaign was the absence of a concrete programme of economic action, credible solutions to social problems, and bold new ideas in foreign policy.

An alternative to the Social Democrats' election platform was offered in the

election manifesto of the Coalition for Democratic Unity, made up of Communists, the ecological Greens, and the Independent Democrats. The coalition set the objective of preserving the democratic majority in the Assembly, which would then be able to form a government and thus bar the right from coming to power. It called for further progressive changes, the protection of the Constitution, and an economic reform to improve the condition of the working people.

The banning of nuclear weapon tests, the early conclusion of an agreement on Euro-missiles, and the establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in the Iberian Peninsula were proclaimed immediate foreign policy objectives.

The Communists and their allies in the coalition called for the principal achievements of the April revolution - the public sector, the agrarian reform, and the social gains of the working people to be upheld.

The loss of eight seats was self-critically analysed. Many causes of the failure - objective and subjective - were disclosed at a plenum of the Communist Party's Central Committee held shortly after the poll. Apart from the general shift to the right among the electorate, the plenum noted the adverse influence of different left-wing parties, which took some of the vote of the most backward sections of workers and peasants.

Another heavy blow for the left was the split in their former election bloc, in which the Communists had participated - the Alliance for Popular Unity - from which the Portuguese Democratic Movement withdrew. The PDM suffered a crushing defeat: none of its candidates was elected to the present Assembly.

The election returns indicate a setback for Portuguese democracy, said Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Communist Party. Nevertheless, he noted, the Coalition for Democratic Unity, having demonstrated its strength and effectiveness, will continue to work for its objectives. It should be remembered, Alvaro Cunhal stressed, that a two-third majority of votes is needed in parliament for the revision of the Constitution so desired by the right.

In the near future the political struggle will centre round the Constitution, and a revision of the labour laws. Immediately after the voting results were announced, the Confederation of Portuguese Industrialists called for the prompt denationalization of the public sector. The leadership of the country's largest trade union association, the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers - National Intersyndicate, countered this call with its determination to uphold the rights and gains of industrial and agricultural workers.

■

PUBLIC FORUM

COVENTRY CONVENTION

From our special correspondent Galina Sidorova

What kind of Europe and what kind of the world do they want to build, the thousand representatives of peace movements in more than 30 countries, who met in Coventry for the sixth convention of the European Nuclear Disarmament (END). This was, in fact, one of the themes discussed at the forum. The two other were European security and disarmament and strategy of the peace movement.

"Us and them"

Confused and disappointed, I stood on the steps of the famous cathedral. Hardly had the delegation of the Soviet Peace Committee appeared at the convention when the leitmotif "us and them" began to sound in Coventry. Familiar charges were levelled at the Soviet participants, people differing in age, views and social status: our mission was "official," we express the "Kremlin's viewpoint" and for this reason cannot be partners of the independent peace movement in the West, and we did not bring along "independents" from the so-called Trust Group (see New Times, No. 28).

Members of the Trust Group met with the Soviet Peace Committee to discuss the question of the participation of one of them in the Soviet delegation, but no arrangement was reached because within that group there is no consensus on relationships with the committee. In other words, once again some organizers of the convention tried to make an issue of our movement's internal affairs. As a result, peace campaigners in Western and Eastern Europe again found themselves on opposite sides, although it might seem that they are united by a common aim - making our continent non-nuclear. And awareness of this only made them vexed with one another.

A few words about the history of the conventions of the European Nuclear Disarmament. The movement originated late in the 1970s and early 1980s on the wave of the struggle by the public in West European countries against the deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles on the continent. Since then it has become firmly established.

The make-up of the movement is extremely varied. It includes political parties (Social Democrats, Labour, the Greens), extreme left-wing organizations, groups pointedly maintaining their independence of any political institutions, women's and youth associations, and emigrés from East European countries.

Initially, they were all united by the striving to remain equidistant from the two world giants. The END campaigned to awaken the self-awareness of Europeans, though largely ignoring the historically formed situation in which neighbouring states in Europe differ not only in national terms but also in affiliation to political systems.

I remember how we discussed the question of the future of Europe with the END leaders at their third convention in the Italian city of Perugia, where we first became acquainted. They peremptorily accused us of "firmly occupying" Eastern Europe while mentioning only in passing the presence of American troops in Western Europe. We patiently refuted the distortions of history and in our turn accused them of having ties with NATO special services. And this was how we coexisted. We exchanged accusations.

Moreover, we Soviet peace champions, at least some of us, conscientiously upheld the need for SS-20 me-

dium-range missiles in the west of the U.S.S.R. and of Soviet shorter-range missiles in Czechoslovakia and the G.D.R. This was a relapse into conventional thinking: to reply to a threat with a threat, to American weapons with Soviet weapons. We thought it natural to suppress in ourselves a logical question: is it right to limit our peace efforts to supporting measures already proposed by the Soviet Union or should we perhaps more often propose to our government new ideas of disarmament?

It took the intellectual breakthrough in Reykjavik, the process of renewal and openness in Soviet society to overcome many of our shortcomings. I think we have succeeded to some extent. And this explains our disappointment with what we saw and heard on the first day in Coventry: the old preoccupation with familiar differences, the same stereotypes and the old intolerance of the views of others.

Have we really failed to learn anything?

Europe does not love the bomb

By established tradition the convention held its proceedings in several dozen working groups. The themes of the discussions were not confined to the three main ones.

Soon it became clear, however, that although our friends did bring to Coventry the entire load of old problems, the atmosphere at the convention was determined not by these problems. It was determined by the understanding the Soviet Union and the United States practically reached on the issue of "double zero" for missiles, and by changes in Soviet society. The whole meeting of one of the working groups and one general discussion were devoted to the latter subject.

The question of the future of Europe, which was raised at previous conventions for the most part in philosophical terms and sometimes even demagogically, has at long last begun to acquire practical contours.

Here is the opinion of Erhard Eppler, a prominent member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany:

"Peace can no longer be achieved by mutual deterrence. Peace is not a balance of fear but the absence of it. It can be built only jointly and not against each other. I regret to say it, but statesmen in the East have realized this faster than in the West. Some experts believe that the problem will be solved simply by replacing nuclear weapons with conventional ones. In reality, that would be the same game but with other instruments. The more we intimidate, the more the other side intimidates us. True, we have yet to see what Gorbachev had in mind when he spoke of eliminating the asymmetry in the conventional armaments of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

"Let us be realistic. It is impossible to dissolve the blocs immediately. Let the 'special relations' stand for the time being. Let some Soviet troops remain in the G.D.R., but not in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Let American troops stay on for the time being in the F.R.G., but not in Britain. We must become partners in the field of security and accompany this partnership with agreements in the economic, ecological and other spheres.

How do I see the future of Europe? I see a diversity of social systems, movements, convictions, different forms of ownership, traditions. There should be room in our European home for Christians and Marxists. Of course, all this cannot be achieved without struggle, even within the peace movement itself. But this will not be an exhausting struggle. We must recognize the right of others to be different from us.

Elsa Hammerich (Denmark), a member of the Europarliament:

"After Reykjavik one article in the Washington Post was entitled 'Europe Loves the Bomb.' The Europeans complain when we deploy missiles and they complain when we want to take them back, remarked a Pentagon spokesman. But there are Europeans and Europeans.

"What do we need now? To put an end to the strategy of deterrence. We must expose the first-strike strategy. The arsenals of 'conventional' weapons should be defensive. A conventional war in Europe is just as unthinkable as a nuclear one - just think about all the nuclear arsenals and reactors deployed here. We must say no to plans to militarize outer space. We must create nuclear weapon free zones and struggle against the 'enemy image'. Our immense energy is now being sidetracked by the overcoming of mutual mistrust. Trust and friendliness will release our intellectual potential."

Not everything went smoothly. At times irreconcilable views were expressed. But for the first time in the history of the conventions the discussion looked more like a dialogue, a difficult but mutually enriching one.

Take, for instance, the problem of nuclear power plants. Should we give up such a source of energy? There is no consensus on this question either in the West or in the East. And such debates are capable of prodding scientists into searching for alternative sources of energy, especially after the tragedy in Chernobyl. And this means that they can yield practical results.

Or take Afghanistan. In the past the very mention of the country would make half those present in the hall angrily condemn the Soviet presence in Afghanistan and demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops, regardless of the price in blood this would cost the Afghans themselves.

In Coventry the question was raised as follows: what concrete measures can the various anti-war movements propose for an early settlement of the conflict? Members of the Soviet delegation and Fatima Geilani, a representative of one of the seven Afghan resistance organizations abroad, stated their views in the debate.

But for me probably the most interesting conversation in Coventry was the one about the future of Europe with one of my old partners and opponents from the END - Ken Coates, secretary of its

A poster issued by the END calls for participation in a Europe-wide demonstration to be held next October.

liaison committee and professor at Nottingham University. I want to quote it fully.

Independence and interdependence

"How do you see the future of Europe and what role in it would you give the Soviet Union and the United States?"

"I would like the events which I think are likely not to happen. I will explain. The United States is now in an implacable economic competition with West Germany, not to speak of Japan. This rivalry may bring about a terrible economic slump in the whole world in the immediate future. Many American economists predict serious trouble for the U.S. economy and this will naturally lead to a crisis. Only a miracle can help

to avoid it. The less stable a system, the more unpredictably it shifts to the right. Already in the present economic difficulties left-wing parties in Western countries are losing ground and failing to offer credible alternatives. What we need in Western Europe, the debt-beset countries of the Third World, and in the socialist states, particularly in the U.S.S.R. and China, is to work out new forms of cooperation in order to avoid economic catastrophe. This might be difficult, but this is the only way.

"In the past economic crises often resulted in war. So now we are threatened not only by the nuclear bomb. I am not at all inclined to think that the system of cooperation or, if you like, of making the economy healthier, should be directed against the United States. If we succeed in improving trade, in setting up joint ventures, as is now being proposed by the Soviet Union and China, we all will be able to rid ourselves of many problems. It is a pity the Americans are impeding this, because this only complicates the confrontation."

"On what should a more independent or, as some participants in the convention said, a sovereign Europe be based?"

"Two world wars had their origins on our continent. We Europeans have played a shameful role in the history of civilization. And we have played a heroic role in creating the civilization we have almost destroyed. I think it is good that Europeans are ceasing to be 'narrow-minded' nationalists. Yet supporters of Eurocentrism are contemplating the establishment of a third superpower in the world. I am categorically against this. The idea of a powerful Europe armed with the latest nuclear weapons occupying a stronger position in the economic competition with the United States and Japan is quite wrong and will hardly find support beyond the Old World. Peace cannot be built on mutual exploitation and aggressiveness. But Europe does have every possibility for becoming a region of peace and development. This means more interdependence instead of independence.

The real conflict in the world is not the war of words between West and East, the U.S.S.R. and the United States, but the war of economies."

"Problems of European security are being discussed at the convention. Is that possible in isolation from global security?"

"Yes and no. We must break problems down into manageable parts. Take, for instance, the talks on medium-range and shorter-range missiles in Europe. It is in our interest for them to end successfully. And this is a European issue. But it affects the situation in other regions as well. For example, the Soviet Union could become anxious about the American nuclear presence on certain Pacific islands. I am not saying that we cannot solve anything before we solve everything. It is just that one must always foresee a global problem and try to oppose it at the local level. 'Think global but act local' - this slogan is very popular in some British municipalities."

"The question of human rights, and the different approaches to it. This is a problem on which the positions of Western and Eastern Europe are farthest apart. How do you think it will develop in the future?"

"I am following with hope the human rights situation in the U.S.S.R., and in other countries for that matter. I believe democratization means not just the overcoming of separate violations of the democratic process that happened in respect of some individuals. It is a broader process. People will get a possibility of developing their ability to influence events. I do not want to assess the processes taking place in your country. In their approaches to your changes some of my friends simply lack imagination and information. Soviet people have fantastic prospects. If everything that is now being spoken about is actually implemented this will pull the rug of fear of you from under the feet of the rest of the world.

"Generally speaking, any country that comes out for human rights should create conditions in which they can flourish. I have studied the problem of poverty in Britain and know its destructive effects on the individual. The military psychosis also undermines civic freedoms. The greater the investment in the military sphere, the more secrecy, fear, suspicion and repression there is. This may be simplified, but it seems to me that if we solve such global problems as disarmament, development and economic rehabilitation, there will be an unprecedented expansion of human rights."

"Why do West European pacifists make a point of their independence of political institutions, and why are Soviet representatives called 'official' ones, although they are backed by millions of fellow countrymen who sincerely and vigorously participate in the Soviet Peace Committee's campaigns?"

"This question has a long history. And the cause is bilateral. It is to be found in how a consensus is formed in this or that society. Then there is the lack of readiness to accept the differences between our systems as something taken for granted. For us in the West it is difficult to understand and accept some of the distinctions. But I think this is your problem. You are doing much now to restructure your society. And this means just the creation of conditions for the constructive participation of people in the life of society. One would have to be very complacent and narrow-minded to regard our Western parliamentarism, manipulated as it is by the big press and infiltrated by the secret services, as the height of democracy.

"Yet many people in the West believe that the differences between our systems as such are in themselves a threat. They think the more you will resemble us the easier it will be to accept you. But this is a wrong approach. We must listen to each other and conduct a dialogue and then the time will once come when we will be able to discuss all such matters in the most ordinary and calm way. Soviet people are making their own history, and I do not think that we in the West have the right to judge you. You have achieved a great revolution. And it would be wonderful if we could march further together. Here in the West people must be convinced that only together we can build something. Your perestroika is opening up possibilities for all of us...."

A new Europe in the making!

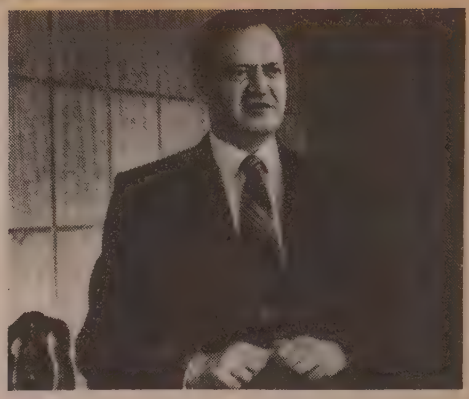
I spoke with Ken Coates on the eve of the closing of the convention, which, for the first time in recent years, adopted a joint document, the Coventry Appeal for a Nuclear-Free Europe and a Nuclear-Free World. Drafting it was a tough job for the organizers. Opinions in the liaison committee split.

Some of the peace movements, which are under the traditional-moralistic influence of the church, cannot overcome their ideological intolerance of the socialist countries' peace committees. They believe in independence from all institutions of power. True, this does not prevent their leaders from talking lately about searching for alliances with the right-wing parties that have achieved election successes in some West European countries. The other movements, representing the south of the continent for the most part, merge more flexibly with the political structure of the countries concerned. They are prepared for compromises and are starting a dialogue with the East. But the fact remains that the Coventry Appeal was approved by the majority of the participants in the convention. They agreed that the new thinking means not only fresh approaches to disarmament problems on the part of politicians. It means a new code of relations between opposing systems, states and public movements, as well as of relations between all of them and the planet Earth.

The new Europe will be born in fierce debate and mutually enriching dialogue, in attempts to cooperate on all questions, from disarmament to humanitarian issues. Or has the process of birth already begun?

Coventry-London-Moscow

Socialism means the same thing to us



WLODZIMIERZ NATORF,
Polish Ambassador to the Soviet Union

There are very few countries in the world, even neighbouring states, whose destinies have been so closely interwoven over a period of many centuries as those of Poland and the Soviet Union.

It is a fact that the Great October Socialist Revolution, which gave birth to the world's first state of workers and peasants, granted Poland freedom from age-old dependence.

The Soviet people's victory in the mortal clash with nazism restored Poland to the political map of Europe and the world, despite the attempts of the nazis over a period of five years to wipe it off the face of the earth.

And finally, the present changes in the Soviet Union and Poland initiated by the April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th congress of the Party and by the 10th congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, have enabled both countries to proceed with the restructuring of their social life, economies, science and thinking.

Poland and the USSR are united by an alliance for all time. Though their past historical destinies were different, they are together.

* * *

The policy of expansion pursued by tsarist Russia as well as by Austria and Prussia resulted in the dismemberment of Poland which, throughout the 19th century, had no existence as an independent state.

A part of Poland was incorporated into Russia. The Poles shared their life with the peoples of Russia, both its revolutionary upsurges and periods of grim reaction. The mounting revolutionary movement in Russia was not alien to the Poles. This found its reflection in the events of 1905. There were strikes and demonstrations in the streets of Warsaw. The workers of Lodz erected barricades. The ferment that gripped the Polish people was an integral part of the first Russian revolution.

This was also true of the historic days when the storm of the Great October Revolution swept Russia. Every Pole, like every Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, and Lett, was faced with the historic need to choose between two political camps. Some Poles, who had long been associated with the ruling tsarist clique, joined the camp of the enemies of the revolution. As for the Polish proletariat and the Polish revolutionaries, they always knew that their future was inseparable from the joint struggle of the peoples of the Russian Empire, and above all from that of the Polish and Russian peoples.

The bolsheviks' clear-cut stand on the national question brought the more progressive and enlightened Poles closer to the Russian working-class movement. Nearly 200,000 sons and daughters of the Polish people were actively involved in the October Revolution in Russia. Most of them later returned to their native country. But many stayed on in Soviet Russia to take part in the building of the world's first state of workers and peasants.

* * *

There are many points of view with regard to the role the October Revolution played in helping Poland win independence. As far as I am concerned, I am certain that, directly and indirectly, the October Revolution had a favourable effect on our destinies. The revolution expressed itself unequivocally in favour of Poland's independence and indisputably recognized the sovereignty of the Polish people. Independent Poland was now a reality.

It was logical to assume that the emergence of Poland as an independent state would open up a new page in the relations between the two neighbouring countries. However, at that stage the class interests of the Polish bourgeoisie and landlords gained the upper hand. They were eager to return to their estates in the Ukraine and Byelorussia and fulfil a "historic mission" of their own in the East. However, this is not the only reason why bourgeois-landlord-ruled Poland attacked the Soviet state in 1920 and Jozef Pilsudski engaged in his notorious offensive on Kiev. National feeling also played a part in this. Over a period of many decades bitter hostility had been skilfully excited against the neighbouring people. And finally, the reactionary Polish rulers were utterly devoid of any sense of political realism.

They pinned their hopes on the victory of the white guards or the Ukrainian nationalists, but they should at least have taken into account the fact that these forces were essentially anti-Polish. For instance, the political programmes of Wrangel, Kolchak and other white guard leaders provided only for the "limited independence" of the future "kingdom of Poland."

Facts are stubborn things, they say. They cannot be relegated to oblivion. It is a fact that Poland launched an intervention against the young Soviet republic. The Polish bourgeoisie had no difficulty in spreading rumours about the "danger from the East." In the minds of the Polish nation the battle near Warsaw was a defensive one. It was even regarded as a sign from heaven and a punishment of the Bolsheviks by god.

The period between the two world wars was characterized by shortsighted anti-popular foreign policy on the part of the Polish rulers. It is difficult to understand now why, in defiance of obvious national interests and even in the face of mortal danger from nazi Germany, Poland refused to accept the helping hand of the Soviet Union. The Polish rulers cruelly suppressed the democratic opposition and were especially ruthless in their persecution of members of the underground Communist Party.

However, even then the ideas of the October Revolution found their way into the minds and hearts of Poles through various channels. Wladyslaw Broniewski, the non-party poet, put it most aptly: "I take my hat off before the Russian Revolution and bow to the ground as the Poles do."

Yet for all that the stimulating ideas of the October Revolution won over only a relatively small number of workers and progressive intellectuals in Poland. Why? As I see it, to ascribe this to the atmosphere of suspicion and even hostility between our peoples would be to oversimplify. It should be mentioned that, owing to Poland's geographical position and a whole range of historical

factors characterizing its development, the Poles were influenced by a particular doctrine. Poland was proclaimed a bulwark of Catholicism. It was regarded as a bridge between East and West and even a favourite sister of France. The ruling classes frequently invoked these facts and enjoyed widespread support among the population. In many cases the people thought in such terms and acted correspondingly. The Poles are particularly sensitive to anything that has a bearing on their more or less glorious past. No wonder therefore that they were unable to abandon such a legacy.

The complex developments of 1939-40 prompted many negative repercussions on both sides. However, when later events determined the Soviet Union's role in shaping the future of mankind during the second world war, the ideas of the October Revolution won the minds and hearts of millions of Poles.

The new Polish state was born in the crucible of the last war. What bound Poland and the Soviet Union was friendship based on a common ideology and common national interests. The course along which both countries advanced was not free of difficulties. But we have surmounted them together. We have also won common victories.

* * *

The international policy pursued by the Soviet Communists and their present creative pursuit of new departures have again revealed the true value of the ideas of the October Revolution. The 10th congress of the Polish United Workers' Party was held soon after the 27th congress of the CPSU. The ideologically common decisions the two top-level party forums adopted are governed by objective laws. The thinking patterns and lines of creative exploration in our two countries have been similar and even identical over a period of many years. From the standpoint of national pride the Poles can say with justice that in some cases they pioneered the formulation of new aims. However, it would be fair to say that sometimes insight was rather the result of developments that occured independently of us than of purposeful and profound thought. We therefore appreciated the significance of the current changes in the Soviet Union and their impact on the socialist community - indeed on the whole world - to an even greater degree.

The Poles have never displayed such interest as now in the success of the processes of renovation that have started to develop in the Soviet Union. This interest in perestroika (restructuring), and our support and sympathy are understandable. In both countries revolutionary changes are under way. A lot will be changed in the future too. Both countries are reading and interpreting Lenin in a new way and are responding to his call to develop the theory and practice of socialist construction. It is particularly important for us to understand that relations between socialist countries should be based on the principle of diversity in unity and, conversely, unity in diversity.

It is obviously not enough merely to understand the new or simply to become accustomed to it. It is vital to remould your own "I," your mode of thinking and your traditional views of the world.

It gives me pleasure to read in the Polish press the reports by our correspondents in Moscow. They write about Soviet life, with due tact, describing its successes and practical difficulties from principled positions. It pleases me that the Soviet public is regularly informed not only of positive aspects of our life, but also on complex problems confronting Poland. This does not cast a shadow over our solid unity on matters of principle, our unity of views on the fundamental issues the October Revolution placed before mankind.

The revolutionary changes have caused us to discard definitely all that divided us, and to strengthen everything that has always been our common asset and everything that unites us today. This purpose is served by the declaration signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski on Soviet-Polish cooperation in the spheres of ideology, science and culture. It proposes to eliminate the gaps in the history of our relations and display a scientific approach and maximum truthfulness in filling them up. A joint commission of historians has already started work and laid down guidelines. Of course, one cannot expect results overnight. What is needed is time, patience and an atmosphere of understanding. Speculation and sensationalism are undesirable.

Specific relations have taken shape between the Poles, on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring western regions of the Ukraine and Byelorussia and of Lithuania, on the other. Over a period of several centuries the propertied classes sowed seeds of discord and even hatred in the region. Unfortunately, these seeds often germinated. Though we hate to hear this today, over many years, including the period between the wars, Poland oppressed neighbouring peoples whose territories formed a part of it.

Freedom came to the Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia and Lithuania in emergency circumstances, in the context of the just war of the Polish people in defence of their country against the nazi aggressors.

No reasonable Polish patriot questions the historical right of the Ukrainian people to the city of Lvov, or the right of the Lithuanian people to the city of Vilnius. However, nobody can deny that over a period of many centuries we lived together, and that the destinies of our peoples and our cultures were closely interwoven. In these lands there are many Luthuanian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian historical monuments. However, there is also evidence of the Polish presence there. Poles were born in these territories, and lived and died there. Finally, some historical monuments (perhaps the finest of all) testify to the fraternal coexistence of our peoples.

A short while ago I learned of a most interesting case. In the museum of Ostrog in the Ukraine there are two excellent statues by Oskar Sosnowski. When a Polish delegation visited it, the guide said: "You Poles regard Oskar Sosnowski as your sculptor, but we Ukranians regard him as ours."

A member of the Polish delegation remarked that Sosnowski signed his works in Polish as well as Ukrainian. "Instead of arguing," he said, "let us regard him as at once a Ukrainian and a Polish sculptor."

It appears that under certain circumstances an individual can regard himself as a son of more than one country. The distinguished Lithuanian artist Mikalojus Ciurlionis inscribed his canvases in Polish. And Adam Mickiewicz was to exclaim: "My beloved homeland, Lithuania!"

Mikalojus Ciurlionis was a Lithuanian. And he often made a point of this. However, he knew the Polish language and Polish culture. Adam Mickiewicz was a great Polish poet. And if he loved the wonderful land of Lithuania, one should not be surprised. Our revolutionary traditions were also closely interwoven.

I would like to return to the point from which I started. In a sence, the Great October Socialist Revolution was our common revolution, regardless of the courses our peoples later embarked on. It was thanks to the great ideas we share that the revolutionary Felix Dzerzhinski, a Lithuanian-born Pole, was to become a hero both of Poland and the Soviet Union. Moscow has a Dzerzhinski Square with a monument to him, as has Warsaw.

Konstantin Rokossovski, Marshal of Poland and Marshal of the Soviet Union, is also a hero of both countries.

I have mentioned two distinguished personalities. But there were many other shared and unknown heroes. We are only beginning to unearth their names today from the depths of history. Their lives and sometimes their deaths confirmed our affinity born of the October Revolution.

Despite all the zigzags of history, we have finally found a common course. Such words as justice, glasnost (openness), perestroika (restructuring), and uskoreniye (acceleration) sound the same in both languages and have the same meaning on both sides of the frontier. The word socialism has the same meaning too.

It is my conviction that the decisions of the 27th congress of the CPSU and the 10th congress of the PUWP are sound and meaningful. Based on the ideals of the October Revolution, they guide us together along the common road.

TAKING UP A POINT

In issue No. 24, 1987 the magazine New Times carried an article by Leonid Medvedko on the "six-day war" of 1967. This article, like many other Soviet publications, puts most of the blame for unleashing the war on Israel. But perhaps there would never have been a war if the Arabs had recognized Israel!

But they wanted to drive it into the sea. That, apparently, was why Nasser ordered the "blue helmets" to be removed from the buffer zone. Was it that that forced Israel to take preemptive measures! As a result, the Arabs were defeated - and what a defeat it was! Wasn't the late President Nasser responsible for that! Why didn't our government tell him and our other Arab friends that Israel, although a small state, also has the right to independence! Please answer these questions.

G. BAKHTURIN
Bezhetsk U.S.S.R.

LEONID MEDVEDKO, doctor of history, replies:

The war that sparked off a nonstop conflict

Where I agree with the writer of the above letter is that the direct cause of the June 1967 war was, indeed, the decision taken by the late President Nasser to withdraw U.N. troops from the Sinai buffer zone and close the Strait of Tiran.

But I should like to remind you that this was done on May 14 and 22, respectively, and not because, as you put it, "the Arabs wanted to drive Israel into the sea." Western propaganda on many occasions ascribed these irresponsible statements by certain Arab extremists to President Nasser, although he officially denied them and never subscribed to such views. Nevertheless, Tel Aviv, after consultations with Washington, used this decision as a pretext for unleashing an aggressive war against neighbouring Arab states, a war that had long been in preparation. The real causes of the war go much deeper.

The article you refer to was only one of the eyewitness accounts by a person who watched the run-up to the war from Syria. Israel's military provocations had already reached their climax in April, i.e., a month before the Nasser decision you refer to. The Egyptian leadership also had other, including documentary, evidence that Israel was preparing for aggression. At that time the Egyptian leadership, like the Soviet government, was doing its utmost to prevent war and find a political means of resolving the impending crisis.

Your question - could the war have been prevented and who was to blame for it - is still relevant today, as it concerns more than recent history.

Apparently you follow the events in the Middle East closely and will therefore agree with me that it is extremely difficult to draw a line between recent history and current events there. They are closely intertwined, perhaps more in that region than in other parts of the world. That is why today's events can be viewed in the historic perspective and history can be explained in the light of what's happening today. Readiness to recognize Israel was expressed not only by most Arab states, but also by the Palestinians whom Israel had deprived of their homeland, on condition that Israel implemented the U.N. resolutions on eliminating the consequences of its aggression. Tel Aviv, however, is sabotaging them to this day.

The six-day war was neither the first, nor the last. Rather it was something of a watershed in the Middle East conflict, which has now continued for almost forty years.

The Italian political thinker Machiavelli once said, "wars begin when ordered, but they end when an end is possible." These words take on a tragic meaning today. One can argue till doomsday about who wanted the June war more or who is more to blame for it. But in our troubled, mutually connected and mutually dependent world, it is infinitely more important to establish who can stop the deadly spiral it set off, and how. It seems to me more important now to determine not why wars in the Middle East start, but why they never end.

June 1967 gave a six-day start to an aggression that has continued for more than twenty years. That war bred other wars in the region. For more than ten years a much-suffering Lebanon has been bled white. For over six years it has proved impossible to extinguish the flames of the Iran-Iraq war. The Irangate scandal is merely another example of Washington's and Tel Aviv's joint efforts to keep that fire burning. The Middle East knot is being pulled tighter. One can clearly discern the trend to tie it up with other points of conflict in the Middle East and Africa. Their interdependence is growing, and it is becoming increasingly clear that unravelling all these knots depends on the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security. It is not only the establishment of a non-nuclear and non-violent world that requires a new mode of thinking. Regional problems also demand that we surmount the inertia of the old mode of thinking and get rid of entrenched stereotypes in political behaviour.

One of the most deep-rooted stereotypes is that peace can be imposed by force, that the security of one state

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Nature in jeopardy

Many years ago I learned of the project of the century being planned in the Soviet Union - to turn back the northern rivers. At that time it aroused interest. But as time passed, the tone of the publications began to change, and now the project has been condemned and all work on it stopped. Almost simultaneously our papers published the Soviet government's decision on keeping the waters of Lake Baikal pure.

In my view both these decisions were right. They reveal the state's concern not only for the present of their people, and for Nature, but also for what kind of Earth' our children and grandchildren are to inherit. What surprised me most of all was that those responsible for the pollution - the heads of factories and ministries - were severely punished. That in my country is almost impossible. I remember the awful day when a vast amount of poisonous dyes escaped into the Rhine near Basel as a result of an accident at the Sandoz chemical plant. A few days later thousands of dead fish floated down the unnaturally red river. The owners of the plant, as far as I know, got off lightly. I think that in the Soviet Union they would have had to answer to the people for such a thing.

HANS FRANKE
Cologne, F.R.G.

In your issue No. 27 I read an article about ecological problems, and it prompted the following thoughts. We talk too much about the barbaric attitude to Nature in the capitalist countries and the plunder of natural resources abroad. Don't we ourselves have similar problems? Lake Ladoga, and the Caspian and Aral seas are all perishing. Norilsk is being suffocated. And what about the thousands of spoilt rivers, streams and lakes? One could list endlessly the immense harm we ourselves have done to our beautiful country by treating it barbarically, the harm we have done to Nature without which we cannot live. To keep quiet about all this is tantamount to helping kill Nature and harming the health of our people.

LEONID TYUSHEV
Norilsk, U.S.S.R.

Drawing by I. Smirnov

Our movement is called Scientists for Life. It seeks to mould public opinion, and draw wide sections of the intellectual community into the struggle for democratic reforms.

It was with great interest that we read the New Times article, "Human Survival and Nature Conservation" (No. 12/87). We have used its ideas in our new appeals to the public calling for the protection of our environment, to save it for posterity. There can be no doubt that the struggle for life on a national scale is closely connected with the struggle for world peace. Fully aware of the dangers of each new move in the arms race, our movement advocates non-violence, peace and social progress.

CONSTANZA RODRIGUEZ
Cali, Colombia

In No. 24/87 of your magazine I read the article "The Green World," and I knew I must write to you. Not far from our city there is Lake Bellikul. A big river, the Asa, flowed into it, and another river, the Prorama, had its source there and flowed into Lake Akkul. I remember how during the war these lakes and rivers fed the entire population of Dzhambul and its surrounding villages with their fish, as well as Frunze and Tashkent.... There were lots of migratory birds too. After the war people used to spend their weekends on the lakes. It was wonderful!

Now the rivers have dried up. The lakes are being polluted and are gradually dying. I think the Green World commission has plenty to do in our area.

VALENTINA SIDELNIKOVA
Dzhambul, U.S.S.R.

Personally I believe that all the attempts to save Nature and our environment are futile. If Nature is not destroyed by an atom bomb, people will destroy it: they'll turn it into food and plunder it. The only way to save it is to curb the birth rate. The fewer consumers, the less will be taken from the Earth. What do you think?

KH. PUSTOSHKIN
Leningrad Region, U.S.S.R.

It's a good thing the press has recently taken up the problems of environment protection. Scientists, experts, writers, public figures and ordinary readers argue about how to save Lake Baikal, the consequences of turning rivers back, and many other issues. They express their views and offer their suggestions. I believe that this discussion can improve not only our environment - its flora and fauna, but also the nature of our society.

NIKOLAI FILIPPOV
Ulyanovsk, U.S.S.R.

Looking for the right method

Moscow University Professor Gavriil Popov, D. Sc. (Econ.), reflects on the economic reform in the U.S.S.R.

"The June Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee adopted a management reform programme based on a changeover from administrative, injunctive methods of management to economic ones. Administrative methods of economic management have predominated almost throughout the history of the Soviet state.

"What are the chief characteristics of these methods?"

"This is a very important question, because the very problem of overcoming a given phenomenon presupposes a clear idea of what it is that we are going to overcome; on the other hand, vague interpretations of administrative methods engender all kinds of disputable recommendations.

"Your first question concerned the chief characteristics of these methods. It's not all that easy to answer. The very understanding of the management methods we use, our awareness of their being administrative, has come from a long period of learning. In our attempts to speed up our economic progress, we kept looking for ways of improving management. The experience gained as a result of numerous reorganizations made it quite clear that administrative methods constituted the very basis of our economic management mechanism.

"Initially we were of the opinion that what administrative methods really came down to was mere injunction, and that if we succeeded in drawing up scientifically substantiated plans we would put an end to administrative methods. Even school textbooks said that a new standard of planning would make it possible to abolish these methods.

"Later, in 1965, we thought the changeover from physical to economic plan target indicators would, in itself, do away with administrative methods.

"Experience again proved us wrong. What can we regard as administrative methods today? The very notion "administrative method" means, by definition, a method of running the economy by sheer force of power exercised by the authorities (the centre, the superior organization). But this is true only in form.

"What matters is the idea behind the administrative methods. The latter-day theory was that if scientifically substantiated, the administrative method was quite acceptable, but if based on arbitrariness, it was not. We know from practical experience that it is hard to draw a sharp line of distinction here. No matter how scientific it looks, an arbitrary decision always remains an arbitrary one, and is never free of arbitrariness and subjectivism.

ONE SHOULD TAKE HISTORY AS IT ACTUALLY HAPPENED AND, INSTEAD OF WONDERING WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN DONE WITHOUT, TRY TO UNDERSTAND WHY THIS OR THAT FACT BECAME A REALITY

"Therefore I am inclined to think that the administrative method is, above all, a method of management by injunction on the part of higher authorities.

"Such methods are not prompted by the executor's interests, as a rule, which is only logical. To be more precise, they do not necessarily reckon with the executor's interests. They may take the executor's interests into account and stimulate him, or they may not.

"Naturally enough, these arbitrary methods preclude economic and cost calculations by their very nature. Not that those who use such methods are unwilling to make these calculations (such an explanation would be too simplistic). The point is that such methods intrinsically rule out thoroughgoing assessments of cost ratios and comparative economic analyses of possible solutions to one and the same problem. They are based on economic generalizations and aim at overall results. As a rule, this kind of economic management involves nationwide long-term planning. The greatest flaw in administrative methods is that they fail entirely to take the criterion of economic efficiency into account.

"Administrative methods are perfectly all right in the army, and law-enforcement agencies. In the economy, however, the situation is quite different. Injunctive practices are incompatible with it.

"Finally, administrative methods presuppose a certain pattern of management, with the superior organization being in full command of all the subordinate ones. It is difficult, if possible at all, to use administrative methods in a situation where the subordinate organizations have a free hand, where they can resist orders, disagree with them, etc. Conversely, if orders are binding on subordinates, this kind of system can be described as **administrative**. This is a specifically organized system of management whose structure, personnel functions, procedures and other characteristics serve to ensure the effectiveness of administrative methods."

"Why have administrative methods, of all others, persisted for so long?"

"There is no ready answer to this question, either. To put it briefly, the chief reason was that socialism had to be built in a country whose economic system allowed for a socialist revolution and made it possible. At the same time, this country was at a level of development which provided no economic basis of the kind required by the new system.

"The result was a controversial combination of the mighty subjective factor of socialist construction (the working people and their party in control, the nation eager to build socialism) and an inadequate economic base. That was not the kind of situation described by Marx, where all that was needed to build socialism was to bring production relations into conformity with productive forces that had outgrown the confines of private ownership. The state of affairs in Russia did not altogether fit this classic formula. Upon taking power, we had to exercise it in building a new economic base.

"The need to lay new economic foundations for a new political system predetermined the entire character of our development.

"Had the country had no base on which to build socialism at all, it would have been impossible to accomplish this task. On the other hand, the exercise of power in building the required economic

base produced, in the end, an authoritarian administrative system with all the ensuing consequences, with all its advantages and all its dangers - both objective and subjective."

"Which characteristics of this administrative system were really necessary for building up a new economy, and what were the flaws in it?"

"It would be rather presumptious to make any post-factum judgements to that effect now. It seems to me that discussing what could have been done without in the past is a non-materialist, non-scientific way of treating history. Could Peter the Great have done without beard clipping, could Ivan the Terrible have done without his notorious pointed staff? Such questions look largely rhetorical to me. One should take history as it actually happened and, instead of wondering what could have been done without, try to understand why this or that fact became a reality. In this case, too, objective and subjective assessments can be made. But such an analysis helps establish something else: the reasons behind certain facts of history.

"Discussions of the record of socialist construction in our country conducted over past decades were invariably characterized by the idea that mistakes had been made in the course of building socialism and that these mistakes could have been avoided. Now I object to that. Theoretically speaking the mistakes could indeed have been avoided. But on a practical plane, we must proceed from facts.

"The question ought to have been worded differently: was there any alternative way of building socialism, without using the authoritarian administrative system? If there was, then mistakes should be sought not in the working of that system (which were for the most part logically inherent in it), but in the reasons for its choice as an instrument. The way I personally see it, the situation in and outside Russia then was such as to leave no alternative to administrative methods of building socialism. But this subject merits a separate discussion."

"This method of building socialism has been working for decades. It has obviously undergone certain changes, modifications, over the decades. What are they?"

"The administratrative system has changed. It has displayed great dynamism and proved equal to the enormous tasks that faced it.

"The first series of changes began long before the war as industrial plants, upon being completed, went into operation, and the task of building them gradually gave way to that of getting efficient production underway. The administrative system continued to change during the war and in the post-war years.

"Later on, there set in a period of entirely new changes, connected with attempts at all kinds of reforms. There were two major stages in the reforms.

"The first reform was attempted in the period 1953-57. Its object was to make substantial changes in the administrative system as applied to agriculture and to restructure the industrial management mechanism. The then accepted practice in running industry was applied to agriculture in the hope that it would prove as effective there as it had been in the industrial sector.

"This amounted to introducing all the attributes of industry - guaranteed wages, clear-cut plans, subsidizing, machinery - into agriculture.

"Curiously, the industrialization of agriculture had an adverse effect on industry, because the latter had largely depended on agriculture for its successes. 'Transplanted' to agriculture, the authoritarian administrative system backfired on industry.

THE COUNTRY WILL MAKE A STILL FASTER PROGRESS IF WE, WHILE INTRODUCING 100 PER CENT SELF-SUPPORT, STEP UP OUR EFFORTS IN THE KEY DIRECTIONS OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS

"Another aspect of the 1953-57 reforms had to do with the organization and structure of industry proper. The problems leapt to the eye and lay closest to the surface. They were dealt with. By 1962-64 it was clear that organizational shake-ups could not, in themselves, offer any solution to the problems that had accumulated.

"The next stage of the transformations occurred in 1965 when an attempt was made to intervene in economic relations in industry as well. The reformers proceeded from three fundamental premises. First: the reforms had to be carried out at factory level. Second: changes could be accomplished through restricting rather than abolishing the compulsory nature of plan targets. And third: an attempt had to be made to replace physical indicators by economic ones in plan targets. The reforms proved fairly effective, but only up to a point, for you cannot change the principles underlying the operation of a factory without changing the entire economic system of which it is part.

"Far from causing any substantial changes in the management system, a reduction in the number of targets provided numerous loopholes for all sorts of abuses. When I am assigned a specific task, it's one thing; but when I am free to work out the final details of my assignment, it's something else again. What if I work them out to suit my own interests rather than those of the consumers or the nation?

"Lastly, all attempts to introduce economic indicators left their economic basis - the price - to be fixed arbitrarily."

"Why is the administrative system so persistent? Why does it have so many advocates to this day? Where do the historical roots of this system lie?"

"There are a variety of reasons for it. There were historical causes, to begin with. Some of the historical roots of the authoritarian administrative system go way back to pre-revolutionary times. An enormous country, tsarist Russia could not have functioned effectively, in its own way, had it not had a far-flung administrative network. A huge administrative machine is part of the Russian historical tradition. Bureaucratic rule engendered indifference to the people, abuses of office, monstrous absurdities and, inevitably, a huge army of civil servants. The latter did not disappear after the 1917 revolution, but none of them became either factory workers, or peasants. Some emigrated, but most went to work in administrative bodies, bringing the old traditions with them. On the whole, however, this is not the chief factor.

"Another factor is that millions of people were not merely used to the authoritarian administrative system: they simply knew no alternative to it. This system looked all right for a long time - at least, it did not prevent socialism from improving things. The administrators were better off than most, but it should be remembered that the living standards of all the people continued to improve. Over the past few years, the rate of this process has declined, with many improvements coming more and more often from semi-legal or altogether illegal sources. The country was heading for a dramatic predicament which only a reform could help to avert and which few regarded as being of personal concern to themselves.

"I must say that the authoritarian administrative system has most of its

supporters in the present management bodies. The system paid them high salaries plus all sorts of increments. Some fear, with good reason, that in a new situation they are unlikely to keep their executive posts. And others simply cannot do anything except discharge this or that administrative function, such as summary book-keeping or norm-setting.

"However, many believe in the authoritarian administrative system as such, for no selfish reasons. Whole strata of society - Party and government leaders, writers, artists, schoolteachers, doctors - have been raised in the aura of this system. Although these people believe they have nothing to do with the authoritarian economic management system, it has made a deep imprint on their mentalities.

"There is another serious objective factor worth mentioning here. Our country is faced with the tall order of having to make an economic breakthrough. Using normal economic levers, or self-adjusting economic mechanisms, this will be difficult to achieve within reasonable time limits. The situation now is somewhat reminiscent of that in the mid-twenties, when it was clear that with the New Economic Policy our economy would recover in half a century, at the earliest. Today, too, a breakthrough can be achieved with the help of the centre only. The centre still plays an important role in maintaining an adequate defence potential, dealing with the global problems connected with the country's development, and promoting progress in such industries as electronics, robotics, and biotechnology. If we adopt a laissez-faire economic policy, with the centre standing aloof, the reform will take decades.

"Personally, I do not believe in the simplicistic theory that if we let the producer work on his own and pay his way, things will take care of themselves.

"Certainly, we have to free the producers from petty tutelage, and free the centre from many other things. But the centre must apply itself to the beakthrough. This breakthrough equals, if not surpasses, industrialization in the complexity of the problems involved. On the other hand, centralism tends to gravitate towards administrative methods. This is another reason why administrative methods are so tenacious of life.

"The way out lies not in the weakening of centralism, but in changing over to economic methods.

"A new concept of centralism and of the centre's functions is an essential aspect of the reform.The country will make a still faster progress if we, while introducing 100 per cent self-support, step up efforts in the key areas of scientific and technological progress. This requires the restructuring of the entire centralized economic management mechanism. This is not simply a question of reducing the number of ministries and changing the functions of the State Planning Committee. I think it is necessary to restructure the central economic authorities in principle."

"So much for authoritarian administrative methods. Let us now consider purely economic methods of management. What are they like? What is the basic principle underlying them? What are their main components?"

"Economic methods of management take the economic laws of socialism into account. This is the main thing. Second, these methods are based on a realistic assessment of the cost-to-output ratio, i.e., on the law of value. Third, these methods make it possible to bring pay into conformity with the amount and quality of the work done. Deriving from these basic characteristics of economic methods are several others such as economic risk, economic competition, self-management, democratism, intolerance of unearned incomes, and so on."

WORKING PEOPLE'S NEW RIGHTS MUST BE ADEQUATE TO THEIR NEW ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY

"In what ways does the present economic system differ from that accepted in the time of the New Economic Policy?"

"The two differ in principle. The NEP system combined two different economic structures: socialist in industry and private-property in the countryside. Under it, the peasant owned land and the means of production. As for industry, the capitalist structure, though permitted, was not widespread there. To me, therefore, the NEP means chiefly a form of union between the peasants and the state-run economy. It would be a delusion to think that the NEP can be reconstructed today. There is no denying the fact that the economic management system of the NEP period and that of the present-day have much in common, but there is also a difference of principle between the two.

"The New Economic Policy did not provide for centalized construction, let alone a breakthrough, and this probably predetermined its failure. A look through Lenin's last works will show that he gave much thought to ways of supplementing the NEP with measures to expedite the country's emergence from economic backwardness (such as investing the State Planning Committee with legislative functions, setting up a replaceable-membership administrative body under the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and the Central Control Commission, etc."

"Our country has now embarked upon a course of reconstruction. What problems are involved in this process, do you think?"

"It is already clear that reconstruction is off to a good start and gaining momentum, and that the changeover to economic methods is a certainty. There is no stopping this process.

"The question is in what ways and in what forms the changeover from administrative to economic methods is effected. The rate of reconstruction is also of importance. We have a number of options here. One option is to leave it to the present administrative bodies to supervise this changeover. Although eager to do this, they will tread too carefully and take an agonizingly long time in reassessing their values and adapting to new conditions.

Reconstruction will really pick up speed if the flower of our society, and the masses in general, become its chief motive forces. This presupposes a democratic approach to the discussion and adoption of economic decisions, the approach on which Mikhail Gorbachev insists and of which he talked at the January and June plenary meetings of the Central Committee. It will be a long time yet before we make up for the damage stagnation has done us. How are we to repair this damage? There are many difficult problems awaiting solutions.

"The way in which economic problems are solved is of crucial importance. Given a free hand in choosing the product to make and in pricing it, I shall have no one but myself to blame if I fail on the market. If I don't play my cards right, whatever economic penalty I incur, up to and including bankruptcy, will be through my own fault.

"But if someone else decides for me how my factory is going to operate, if I am given no chance to change its structure, to open new factory shops, if I am not free to price my products and expand into foreign market, then holding me responsible for the ensuing consequences amounts to making me pay not only for my own, but for the superior organizations' mistakes as well. The

conclusion is, once again, that the whole question rests on democratization.

"The present system of management is characterized by the fact that it offers reliable protection for the working people. In the period of stagnation, for instance, when the economy as a whole had already gone into a skid, every worker still kept his wages. It was only gradually that the deterioration of the economic situation in the country began to tell on him. On the face of it, however, everything looked perfectly all right. Everyone drew his regular pay irrespective of whether his products had found a market or not, and whether they measured up to international standards or not. Whether the research job you did or the textbook you wrote were of any use made no difference at all. In the end, it is we, all of us, who have to pay the price of stagnation. We must learn to be farsighted enough to see the long-term consequences of stagnation.

"The management system we are now introducing passes a great deal of responsibility on to us, the working people."

"Now that reconstruction is becoming routine practical work, what part are you going to take in it as a theoretician and a University professor?"

"I think that the theory of socialism needs further elaboration. This is a top priority. We often get all mixed up and prove unequal to many tasks precisely because our theory lags behind the times. There are the works by Utopian socialists, the views of Marx, Engels and Lenin on socialism are common knowledge, but all this is no longer sufficient for our practical work today. As Mikhail Gorbachev aptly put it at the June, 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, we need a breakthrough on the theoretical front.

"It seems to me that the main task today is to ascertain the model of socialism. We must analyze the record of real socialism, guiding ourselves by the classic postulates and, as materialists should, using their dialectical method to define more concretely the cardinal features of this system and its prospects. We should, above all, learn from experience; failure to do so leads to dogmatism and utopianism which, in their turn, lead to arbitrariness and subjectivism in practical action.

"What is equality under socialism? What is property under socialism? What are socialist economic relations? These and many other questions demand exact answers. The very concept of what is commonly referred to as the general communist principles of our system also needs concretization. In a word, the entire theory of socialism is waiting to be actively worked upon."

Interviewer:
NIKITA ADZHUBEI,
Cand. Sc. (Econ.)

The hard road to resurgence

How time flies and how many events are crammed into it! It seems only yesterday....

Early in the morning the armed units of the Uganda National Resistance Movement (NRM) led by that experienced guerrilla fighter Yoweri Museveni began storming the capital of Uganda - Kampala. They were met by fierce artillery fire from the troops of General Tito Okello, who was then in power.

The battle lasted for four whole days. Finally, different sounds could be heard in lulls between the firing - the jubilant shouts of the victorious units, their songs and drumming of the tom-toms. Museveni's National Resistance Army took control of the capital.

That was at the end of January, 1986. A year later, when thousands of Ugandans gathered to mark the first anniversary of the coming to power of the National Resistance Movement and festive crowds packed the green field, the traditional place for military parades, demonstrations and meetings, I recalled the great curiosity and keen interest with which the people of Kampala, numerous foreign journalists and diplomats had watched the first parade of the victorious troops.

It was a long comparatively slow-moving column - tired soldiers of the guerrilla, or as they called themselves, people's army, strong youngsters in wide-brimmed hats, women and girls in traditional busuti dresses, boys and girls - many of them not more than 10-12 years old....

A split pearl...

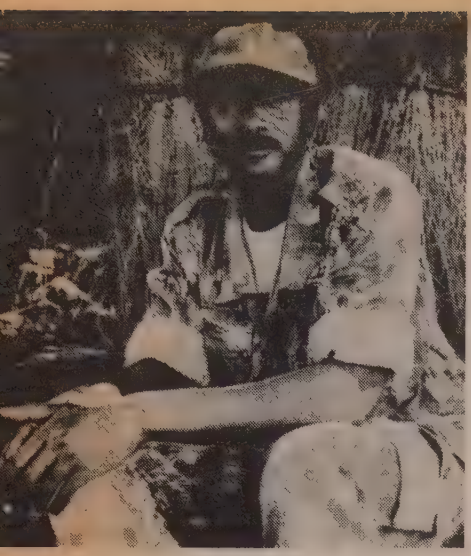
Uganda is often called the pearl of Africa. It is believed that this name was given to it by Winston Churchill, who liked holidaying in his luxurious villa on the shores of Lake Victoria. Indeed, Uganda is famed for its mild climate, and rich and colourful countryside. But if one turns from the natural beauties of the country to its history, then the lustre of the pearl begins to fade.

The British colonialists are responsible for many of the problems Uganda has to cope with today. Back in the 19th century, the British installed themselves in the Kingdom of Buganda, which occupies the central part of Uganda, and with the help of Bugandan units began taking over other parts of the country. They handed over these new territories to tribal leaders of the Ganda people, which naturally provoked the discontent of the population. In this way tribes that had once lived if not as good neighbours, at least in neutrality, were set against each other.

The British introduced such expensive crops as coffee, cotton and tea - which were grown for export. This promoted the enrichment of the local chieftains. Meanwhile, the development of the northern regions where the Nilotic and Sudanese population lived, was not encouraged. They became suppliers of cheap labour and soldiers for the army. In this way the social and economic inequality of the north and the south was fostered, and with it the division of the tribes.

Uganda's independence was proclaimed in October, 1962. But soon afterwards the country was hit by a succession of political crises. In 1971 the government of President Milton Obote was overthrown by General Idi Amin, not without the help of British and Israeli special services. His tyrannous rule plunged the country into chaos. In 1979 Amin provoked a war with Tanzania, lost it and fled to Saudi Arabia.

After a year of quickly changing Presidents, general elections were held in 1980. They brought victory to the



President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda.
Photo from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

Uganda People's Congress party, and its leader Milton Obote was installed for the second time in the Presidential Palace.

However, the elections failed to bring stability to Uganda, there were accusations of ballot-rigging and electoral fraud. Such an accusation was made by Yoweri Museveni. Although a young man (he is now only 43), he was already widely known in the country. A man of great courage and strong will, well-educated and purposeful, he contributed significantly to the armed struggle against Idi Amin.

Yoweri Museveni believed that the growth of the liberation struggle would bring to power genuinely democratic forces prepared to carry out revolutionary changes. When he refused to accept the election results, he took to the bush accompanied by a unit of 27 men. There, in Eastern Buganda in what is known as the Luwero triangle, he began to form the National Resistance Army.

First steps, chief problems

Milton Obote proved unable to consolidate his regime. The economy, run according to the rules laid down by the International Monetary Fund, plunged deeper and deeper into ruin. The state apparatus was riddled from top to botton by corruption. The army was suffering losses in the fighting with the NRA. Some of the army units had turned into gangs of thugs. To crown all, contradictions between officers from different ethnic groups had been sharply aggravated. This applied particularly to the Langi tribe to which Obote belonged, and the Acholi, to which the Army commander Tito Okello belonged. On June 27, 1985 after a military coup, power passed into the hands of a Military Council headed by Tito Okello. He also took over the Presidency. For several months the Military Council conducted talks in Kenya with the leadership of the National Resistance Movement. But military clashes continued between them.

Soon after the ending of hostilities around Kampala, I had the opportunity to visit some of the places where fighting had taken place. Having driven about 80 km from the capital in a westerly direction, we stopped near a river overgrown by papyrus reeds. The Commissar from the National Resistance Movement who was with me pointed to it and said: "There it is - Katonga." Today practically every Ugandan knows it - the place where the decisive battle was fought.

The NRM's victory was the logical outcome of years of bitter struggle, and not of armed struggle alone. In the guerrilla camps and bases a great deal was done to develop the men's political consciousness. On the liberated territories people's self-government committees were set up. The joint struggle and common aims over-rode ethnic and social differences, and united people from different tribes and sections of the population. A qualitatively new model for the social and political organization of society was in effect forged in Uganda during the people's war.

On coming to power the NRM set up a National Resistance Council with legislative functions - something like a parliament. Executive power belonged to the government headed by President Yoweri Museveni. It proclaimed a programme for restoring law and order, and ensuring the people's safety and rights, irrespective of ethnic or religious differences. The programme's ten points formulate the principles of the sovereignty of the people. The economic policy designed to restore normality was to be based on domestic integration and self-sufficiency. The goal set was that of achieving national unity.

In keeping with this programme people's resistance committees are being set up throughout the country as bodies of self-government. Now they are busy with current problems. For instance, because of various Black market activities, there is a shortage of sugar in the country. The committees have assumed responsibility for its distribution among the population of their districts at state prices. They also handle efforts to combat crime. As the committees acquire greater experience and the consciousness of the people is raised, the rights and duties of the committees will be extended.

I remember a conversation in the NRM Secretariat. When I asked about progress in setting up these committees, I was told that on the whole things were going well, but not always smoothly. "Wrong elements," which could include former politicians, opponents of the regime and simply criminals, sought to take over leading posts and use them for their own purposes, hostile to the state. In the north of the country there have been difficulties in setting up the committees, as supporters of former regimes still predominated there.

All-out effort urged

Restoring a national economy undermined by years of war, incompetence and abuse by former leaders is not an easy task. Most factories are still not working. There is an acute shortage of prime necessities, especially, medicine, salt and soap. Prices are rising rapidly, and the Uganda shilling is losing its value. The present authorities have inherited from their predecessors a huge external debt - 2,000 million dollars. For many years the national wealth was dissipated, as Museveni noted with bitterness, on "whiskey, wigs and lipstick." The country now has to pay out half its annual currency earnings from exports in repayment of the debt and interest on loans.

The NRM's economic programme stresses the maximum use of internal resources, and state control over exports and imports. Great hopes are being pinned on developing barter trade with other African states. The necessary agreements have already been signed with Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and Burkina-Faso. In exchange for coffee, tea, cotton, maize, ground nuts and meat, Uganda will get oil, tractors, vehicles, medicine, cement and sugar.

The government has also announced its programme for stabilizing the economy. It provides for a monetary reform and the devaluation of the shilling. Purchasing prices for farm produce are to be raised and prices of many imported goods will go up, specifically on oil and petroleum products. Civil servants wages are to be doubled.

But perhaps the new regime's most important task is that of uniting the country. To this end representatives of different ethnic and political groupings have been included in the government, among them those who fought against the NRA during the Military Council's rule. At the end of 1986 agreement was reached between the NRM and the military and political organizations based in the north-west. Some of their military units were incorporated in the NRA, while the rest were disbanded.

In a recent address to the nation on the economic programme President Museveni called on all his countrymen to work hard to rehabilitate the country.

KAREN MELIK-SIMONYAN

BELIEVERS AND FANATICS

The Bridges for Peace encounters sometimes took an unexpected turn. Our special correspondent continues his account.

ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY

...But, as often as not it is not only righteous courses that are championed in the name of the Lord. I know that to begin with a "but" is not the best of forms, but then I am not beginning, but continuing my story. Last time I spoke of believers, this time I shall speak of fanatics. At the time of our visit the press quoted the advice a petty crook embroiled in a big scandal - Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North - gave the Tower Commission investigating his role in the Iran-contra affair to keep in mind the verse from the Gospel of St. Matthew: "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

No "fooling" them

We had occasion to encounter some of the "righteous" of this order. Five or six of them were waiting for us at the entrance to the capitol in Trenton. As soon as we came up to them they quickly produced posters: "Be Not Deceived!", "Soviet Peace Weapon of War." Leaflets and issues of a tabloid-sized newspaper, the Christian Beacon, were offered to anyone who would take them.

Later, at the press conference they bombarded us with questions which invariably began and virtually ended with long harangues. These harangues of theirs were recorded on tape, but the recorder was switched off as soon as one or another of us proceeded to reply.

How had we earned their displeasure?

Judging by their speeches, they were vigilant citizens of the state of New Jersey. Posing as innocent lambs, they claimed, we managed to mislead the New Jersey public, but not them. And now they were performing their moral duty, opening people's eyes to the truth. We, of course, were not what we pretended to be, and hence "Be Not Deceived!" In reality we represented the Soviet government and were "under the direction of the KGB, the secret police," and were "not ordinary citizens." This applied to each one of us - to the Turkmenian artist Izzat Klychev, the leader of our group, to the charming Marina Izvekova, newly graduated from the Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages, to the Russian Orthodox priest Boris Udovenko from Kiev, and to the Baptist preacher Nikolai Kolesnikov from Moscow. Perhaps to the latter two particularly. For, according to the reasoning of these opponents of ours, to be a member of the clergy in the U.S.S.R. was especially suspect. Do you know why? Because "no Soviet clergy has ever defected," to cite a banner headline in the latest issue of the Christian Beacon.

But our small group was guilty of particularly insidious treachery. Not only had we "come literally as Soviet propagandists," but had come "with smiles and fair speeches." The final conclusion was pathetically primitive: "This visit to the United States is of a strategic importance to the Soviets in their psychological warfare." It is always pleasant to be considered a VIP, but I must admit that this flattery exceeded all bounds.

Frank Cotham, United States

Some people see Red submarines in every pond and stream.

The whole of this somewhat grotesque performance revolved around a large, elderly man with a puffy face. I went over to him and he introduced himself as Dr Carl McIntire, President of the International Council of Christian Churches. I asked him what the slogan on the poster "Soviet Peace Weapon of War" meant. He explained that it had been suggested by a line from the Bible to the effect that man is destroyed by peace (at least that is how it sounded to me). McIntire was greatly worried by the "Kremlin's present peace offensive."

Carl McIntire is a tried and tested champion of the ultra-right cause. Pastor of the Bible Presbyterian Church of Collingswood where he has preached for 53 years, he is also editor of the weekly Christian Beacon, a stern castigator of all manner of heresies to which the various religious trends are so susceptible nowadays. He runs a daily one-hour radio broadcast entitled "the 20th Century Reformation Hour," regularly conducts a service on TV, and calls himself "a strong defender of capitalism." I was told that in John Kennedy's lifetime he said a mass for his soul. In the 1970s he organized marches "for final victory over communism." Today he exposes "communist agents" like Bishop Tutu and such "accomplices of communist agents" as Billy Graham, who earned that appellation after his trip to Moscow - that Mecca of atheism - to attend an interdenominational assembly. He writes letters to President Reagan and other Western leaders. He passionately defends such bulwarks of true freedom as South Africa and South Korea against the "false accusations" levelled by the liberal press. He has a particular weakness for South Korea which he has visited 37 times.

That is how we came face to face with fanaticism.

On the psychological plane, American fanaticism differs in no way from any other variety. It has the same inborn features: arrogant aggressiveness - the reverse side of the inferiority complex - the claim to knowledge of the ultimate truth, and supreme patriotism (everyone else, naturally, being traitors), plus the theory of conspiracy as the universal key to all of life's complexities and problems. This all-embracing conspiracy theory is used to explain everything. And the conspiracy is so thoroughly enveloped in secrecy that the proponents of the theory have no need to present any proof of its existence. You have to take it all on faith or risk being labelled an accessory to the conspiracy. The formula of the conspiracy may differ according to the circumstances: the blame can be laid on the

* For the first instalments see Nos. 29,30

atheists, the blacks, the Jews, the freemasons. The variety of American fanaticism we encountered at the Trenton capital sees the "hand of Moscow," a "communist conspiracy" behind everything it considers objectionable.

They came to our press conference with an eye to publicity, they came to give battle publicly. Their logic was primitive.

"Look at this photograph," one of them shouted, showing the TV reporters the photo of a mutilated Afghan child. And, turning sharply to face the platform, angrily cried: "When will you stop setting booby traps in the shape of toys in Afghanistan?"

"Why do you think the booby traps were set by them?" Robert Moor, who presided, asked quietly. The answer was unbelievable: "Who else would do it?" There was laughter in the hall. Whereupon the questioner hastened to add "The fragments were marked 'Made in Russia.'"

"Is that how they were stamped?" Moor asked. "In English, or in Russian?"

"In English, I think." There was a note of uncertainty in his voice. Uncertainty, but not doubt. Doubt, thought, are signs of weakness, and weakness is a crime. So these people have no doubts. It would never occur to them that to leave one's autograph on the scene of the crime would be sheer stupidity; nor would they remember that the U.S. press carried reports of the use of this truly barbarous weapon during the Vietnam war.

Such is the terrible hallmark of any fanatical belief: no rational arguments can shake it. And the more fantastic and absurd it is, the more firmly it is rooted.

Without pausing to catch his breath, our opponents plunged again into the attack:

"How can you prove that you are not KGB agents?"

"How would you wish them to do that?" Moor again politely inquired. "Must they present a written affidavit to that effect? Where could it be certified?"

The newsmen guffawed once more. But none of McIntire's people so much as smiled.

The fanatic as an individual can be ludicrous. Fanaticism as a phenomenon is frightening.

The International Council of Christian Churches of which the Rev. McIntire of Collingswood is president, was founded 40 years ago, at the height of the cold war in Amsterdam, where to this day it has its headquarters as a counterweight to the World Council of Churches with its liberal and ecumenical tendencies. But the ICCC's claim to international status gives no grounds for overestimating the real role of this relic of another age. What is alarming is that fanaticism is contagious, that it can spread like an epidemic, and that the public is sometimes anything but immune to such infections. What a decade ago was considered extremist in America, and even a bizarre minority, now lays claim to being the "moral majority."

Fanaticism is forcing its way into politics - domestic and foreign. That is most frightening. The idiotic conspiracy theories, the malicious and moreover naive striving to attribute all troubles to "enemy intrigues," the unceasing preoccupation with witch-hunts on a national and international scale, the urge to redraw the map of the world in two colours, to divide the world into the good and the evil, into "yours" and "theirs," into "us" and "them" - all the way to the final triumph of one's own "good," all the way to the "fire-gutted remains of history" - all these are truly monstrous things to contemplate. One might sympathize in a way with the old woman who threw a faggot into the flames in which John Huss was burned at the stake. But there can be no sympathy for those who in their blindness feed the fires of inquisition where mountains of thermonuclear fuel have already been piled to the skies!

Fanaticism has no place in the nuclear age. This should be one of the tenets of the new thinking. One can think, hold, even believe that one or another system is illegitimate, a social freak of nature or has prospered contrary to all laws. But one must not try to take the judgement of history into one's own hands for the simple reason that the Doomsday machine has already been invented and is awaiting its hour. Scores, even historical scores, cannot be settled by means of the Doomsday machine. Living history has no need of executors. What is doomed will die. But let the living live.

The idea of power is the antipode of the power of the idea. It substitutes for the historical debate as to what is the more humane and genuine the abominable dispute about who is the stronger. It makes this dispute meaningless. One might as well argue about who is the stronger - Gary Kasparov or Mohammad Ali. I fear that even at the chessboard Mohammad Ali could, if he wished, prove that he was the "greatest." True, there would surely be little left of the chessboard in that case.

The most destabilizing weapon is the Bomb with an ideological charge. Ideology is meant for heads, not for warheads.

"...may it begin with me"

In Demarest we visited the Peace Site. Its proper name is the Gazebo at the Pond. The green lawn by the water breathes tranquillity. Paths lead from all sides to the gazebo which can accommodate up to 40 people. Everything here is conducive to meditation, prayer, remembrance of the dead, to silent rejoicing, to family or friendly gatherings, to spiritual release. To the meeting of souls tuned to the same wavelength. We too joined in a song with the simple words: "Let there be peace on earth, and let it begin with me."

Several Demarest churches declared this place a Peace Site. The local public favoured the idea. By private donations and volunteer labour this once neglected spot was transformed and given its present attractive appearance. I took away with me the programme of the Site. It recalls the day of its Dedication - October 26, 1986, and lists of those who contributed to the undertaking from 5 to 24 dollars, from 25 to 49 dollars, from 50 to 99 dollars, from 100 to 249 dollars, 250 dollars and more.... Special thanks are expressed to Gregory Gidez of Colorado, who drew the architectural plans; to Don Wiggers who did a lot of digging, and his wife Doris, who had to answer the phone day and night, to Bill Blohm who designed and built the beautiful gazebo sign; to Paul Keller, who brought news of our Peace Site to the people of Russia when he visited there in September 1986 as an exchange visitor in the Bridges for Peace programme.

The New Jersey SANE plans to set up 20 Peace Sites. There are already 59 such sites in the state, and 112 in the country as a whole, plus 36 in Britain, and one in Costa Rica. A Peace Site may be a gazebo at a pond as in Demarest, a prayer house, as in Wayne, a school, a hospital - any place where people gather or could gather to discuss public needs.

The idea was first advanced by Louis Kousin of New Jersey who is now the coordinator of the project.

The Peace Site is the very opposite of an army barracks. Louis Kousin reasoned thus: if there are so many army barracks in the world disfiguring the landscape, why not beautify the landscape with Peace Sites? The idea was appealing. People evidently find it consonant with the idea of peace and at the same time a simple formula for personal participation in the building of peace. "Let there be peace on earth, and let it begin with me."

At the Wayne Peace Site, which I have already mentioned, people say: "The growing danger of nuclear war is our No. 1 problem. Our No. 2 problem is that not enough people are paying attention to the No. 1 problem." The Peace Sites are helping Americans concerned with the No. 1 problem to resolve the No. 2 problem.

■

Atomic silence

There was an attempt to censor the Hiroshima tragedy. Here is the story told by an Australian journalist who was the first to see the burnt-out city....

WILFRED BURCHETT

"What I am writing should serve as a warning to the world. Doctors are collapsing from exhaustion. The danger of lethal fumes. Everybody wears masks."

The Daily Express printed this banner heading over my story from Hiroshima. At the time the combination of words "atomic radiation" was not known either to me or to most of my readers. But I already knew that a frightful, unknown disease had afflicted those who had survived this terrible explosion, this appalling holocaust because in what remained of the hospital in Hiroshima, I had talked to doctors and seen patients.

On September 5, 1945, my story in the Daily Express took up almost the entire front page and the greater part of an inside page. Laurence preferred to hide behind Farrell's broad back. For inexplicable reasons his first article in The New York Times only appeared on September 13. It was printed in bold letters: "NO RADIOACTIVITY IN THE RUINS OF HIROSHIMA. Specialists note the total absence of traces of soil vitrification. 68,000 structures destroyed" (From our special correspondent William Laurence, Tokyo, September 12). "Brigadier general Thomas Farrell, head of the atomic weapons commission of the War Department, stated tonight after inspecting the damage to Hiroshima that the explosive force of the secret weapon had exceeded that estimated by its creators, but he emphatically denied that the bomb could cause dangerous radiation supposedly emitted from the ruins of the city and that the blast was followed by the formation of a lethal cloud. He said that on September 9, when an investigation was started, a team of experts did not discover in the destroyed zone any convincing evidence of residual radioactivity and that in his opinion the people who had been there were not exposed to any danger...."

The day before, September 12, The New York Times had printed an article by Laurence from Los Alamos where the first experimental atomic device was exploded on July 16, 1945. In this connection there was talk in the newspaper about Laurence's involvement in Project Manhattan as an adviser to the atomic weapons commission under the War Department. This is what Laurence wrote. **"Atomic tests conducted by the United States refute Tokyo's inventions.**

(From our special correspondent William Laurence. Atomic tests zone, New Mexico, September 9. Delayed delivery.) The events in this historic zone in New Mexico, which had become the site of the first nuclear explosion on earth and the cradle of a new era in the history of mankind, effectively belie the inventions of Japanese propaganda. The Japanese contend that atomic radiation was the cause of the death of people even 24 hours after the explosion and that those who got into Hiroshima on the day after the bombing contracted mysterious diseases caused by residual radioactivity. To refute these allegations a group of journalists and press photographers has been allowed for the first time by the military authorities to enter the test zone which had until now been absolutely inaccessible. Thereby they could see with their own eyes the readings of Geiger counters and also hear qualfied explanations by prominent scientists who took part in the project to develop the bomb.

"During the journalists' visit General Leslie Groves, who was from the outset in command of the implementation of this project, gave convincing answers to a whole number of questions that originated on the historic morning of Monday, July 16, 1945, when the first ever atomic bomb was exploded."

Laurence believes that since the absence of radioactivity was confirmed at the test range where the experimental atomic device was exploded on a 30-metre steel tower, it is even less likely that radioactivity should be detected in Hiroshima and Nagasaki where the bombs, as contended by Laurence, were exploded "at a height almost twenty times greater."

Laurence wrote further: "These conclusions are also confirmed in a report submitted to General Thomas Farrell, deputy head of the project, by a team of American experts sent to Japan to study the consequences of the explosion on the spot. General Groves specified that the work of the American researchers was still only at the initial stage. General Farrell reported that Japanese representatives had agreed that eleven days after the explosion the level of radiation in

On their way to hospital. Will they ever come back?

Photo from the album "Hiroshima - Nagasaki" (Japan)

*Wilfred Burchett's book "Hiroshima maintenant" is to be brought out soon by Progress Publishers.

Hiroshima had declined, reaching the permissible limit, and that this meant that life in the city was possible.... General Groves said further that it was believed in Japan that there were supposedly still instances of death caused by radiation. 'If that is true,' he said, 'the number of such victims is small. If there was any radiation, it was only released at the time of the explosion and not after it.... And if there were some deaths, many lives were saved, especially American lives. In fact the bomb helped bring a speedy end to the war. This final blow knocked the Japanese out....' If we analyze the statements of a number of officials in Japan it is clear that they are pursuing propaganda aims to create the impression that the U.S. won the war dishonestly. They are trying to evoke compassion and thereby get easier terms of surrender...."

On comparing these dates one cannot rid oneself of the impression that there is something that does not tally in Farrell's and Laurence's statements. How was it that Laurence did not send his story from Hiroshima (or at least from Tokyo) where he had probably arrived on September 3, 1945, or, at the latest, the next morning? He was in Hiroshima with a group of American correspondents when I was also there.... Why was the article written at the atomic test range delayed? Generally speaking "delayed delivery" means technical difficulties. But it is hard to believe that there was no telephone or telegraph communication between Los Alamos and New York. And why is it that in the article purportedly sent from Los Alamos on September 9, Groves refers to Farrell's statement from the scene of the bombing, whereas on that day Farrell had only departed for Hiroshima, to be back in Tokyo three days later? And above all, why such a great effort to deceive public opinion, and make people believe that there is no residual radioactivity in a city incinerated by an atomic bomb? Without undue false modesty I will say that I was part of the reason....

I returned from Hiroshima on the morning of September 7 (may be September 8). I stepped off the train in Tokyo half dead with exhaustion and my only thought was to find a hotel, crawl into bed and get some sleep for the first time in five days.

From the terminal I trudged to the Dai Ichi Hotel, where I spent the night (illegally, as I realized later) before my departure for Hiroshima. On my way there I met a journalist I knew. He was immaculately in a freshly ironed uniform.

"Burchett, you're just in time. Come with me. I'm going to the hotel Imperial. All the big shots have gathered there and are working on a report on Hiroshima."

"Impossible, the way I'm feeling. The only thing I want is to get into a bath and then have a good sleep...."

"But they've met specially to draw up a refutation to all you've written about radiation sickness in Hiroshima."

Of course, I went with him. We arrived when the conference was nearing its end. On the way my colleague told me that the Daily Express had not only front-paged my story, but also distributed it free of charge worldwide. This infuriated the U.S. nuclear authorities. This is how I described the conference in my book "At the Barricades" published simultaneously in the U.S. and Britain in 1980:

"The conference was reaching its end, but its purpose was obvious - to refute my story from Hiroshima about people dying from the aftereffects of the atomic bombing. A scientist in a brigadier general's uniform (later I learned that this was Thomas Farrell, deputy director of Project Manhattan) was saying that he totally disagreed with the symptoms described by me because the bombs were exploded at a specially calculated altitude to exclude any danger whatsoever of 'residual radiation.'"

I stood up. Tension reached its peak. I understood that amidst all these bemedalled officers in well-fitting uniforms my dishevelled appearance was not in my favour. The first question was to the officer who made the report. I asked him if he had been to Hiroshima. No, he had not been there (one point in my favour). I told them what I had seen and asked for explanations. At first they were given very politely, in a dry scientific manner intended for laymen. I was told that the people I had seen at the hospital had suffered from the blast wave and the fire, this being quite natural considering the force of the explosion. The Japanese doctors apparently were not competent enough to provide treatment and, of course, they lacked the necessary medicines. I objected, saying that the disease had afflicted people who had come to Hiroshima since the explosion. The officer ignored my words. Our dialogue had reached a blind alley when I asked for explanations why fish in the small river running through the centre of the city continued to perish.

"Quite obviously this is a result of the explosion and the overheating of the water."

"A month after the blast?"

"This channel of the river is influenced by the tides, and this means that the dead fish carried away by the low tide are brought back by the high tide."

"But I was in the outskirts of the city and I saw live fish suddenly surface with their bellies up. The current carries them to a certain point and there they die in a matter of seconds."

The brigadier general assumed a look of extreme distress. "I am afraid you have fallen victim to Japanese propaganda," he said and took his seat. Those present were thanked and the conference ended. A refutation of all I had written from Hiroshima was published, but the city was immediately declared a "forbidden zone," while I was instantly sent to an American military hospital for a checkup. There I learned, for instance, that my blood contained "an extremely low number of leukocytes." The hospital authorities explained this as a consequence of a "knee infection" and prescribed treatment with antibiotics.

Later I learned that any inflammatory process, on the contrary, causes an increase in the number of leukocytes, which are necessary to combat microbes, whereas a fall in their level was a typical manifestation of radiation disease. On being discharged from the hospital I learned I was no longer in possession of my camera and films with unique pictures taken in Hiroshima. I learned that on General MacArthur's orders I had been deprived of my special accreditation as a correspondent to Japan and that I was in danger of losing my job for violating the borders of "his" zone of occupation. The restrictions imposed on all allied journalists were an obvious consequences of my "violations." But perhaps this was just a coincidence? Perhaps I have a particularly suspicious turn of mind?

The day after I sent my material from Hiroshima The New York Times got a report prepared by the press service of the army of occupation in Yokohama. It was printed in the press of Western countries after my story from Hiroshima had already appeared throughout the world. That report said:

"Japan, Yokohama, September 5 (by radio).... An order has been issued for all journalists to leave the capital. The order enters into force immediately."

All hotels where journalists had been staying were checked by officers and other personnel from the Allied General Staff. The hotels were requisitioned while a third-rate hotel was allocated for the correspondents. All news was distributed from Tokyo.... U.S. journalists were ordered to keep at a distance of one-two miles from the city.

A journalist who requested an explanation was told by General MacArthur's spokesman: "The plans of the military do not provide for the inclusion of journalists in the advance units of the occupation forces."

It transpired later that MacArthur's arbitrary decision had its logic - to set up a sort of ghetto for allied journalists and deprive them of sources of information.

This measure applied to all reports by journalists or Japanese scientists on the fate of those who survived the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. What else could it serve but to hush up facts and conceal them from the public?

Martial law has been lifted in Taiwan and a new law adopted, opening the way, so Taibei claims, for the creation of "a more democratic, freer, more prosperous and more progressive society." What lies behind these events?

Who is against reunification?

The island of Gulanyu almost clings to the shore of Fujian Province in South-West China. A steep hill in the centre of the island is crowned by the"sunlight rock." It was from this place that Zheng Chenggong, the Chinese national hero, directed the preparation of troops which, in 1661-62, drove the Dutch colonialists out of another Chinese island, Taiwan, lying opposite Fujian Province, some 200 kilometres from the coast. An observation site erected on the "sunlight rock" is usually filled with people. Tourists from all parts of China peer into the telescope, trying to see the outlines of Taiwan in the turquoise distance of the ocean. On a fine day they can discern the outlines of the warships protecting the island. Their guns are trained on the Chinese coast.

After the victory of the people's revolution in China in 1949, representatives of the overthrown Guomindang regime fled to Taiwan. Backed by Washington, they ensconced themselves on the island, and since then the regime has been posing as the "Republic of China," the sole legitimate government of the country.

Following the establishment of diplomatic relations between Washington and Peking in 1979, official U.S.-Taiwan relations were severed and the Guomindang's position badly shaken. The regime has lost its former status in all authoritative international organizations.

But the Taiwan issue is still on the agenda. The partition of China continues. This situation conflicts with the will of the people, Peking has repeatedly stressed. The Chinese want to see their nation united. The reunification of Taiwan with the mainland is a cardinal objective of China's foreign policy as recorded in its Constitution.

Peking has been actively seeking to start negotiations with Taiwan on this issue, proposing as the basis for reunion the principle of "one country with two social-economic systems." This principle was recently used in the peaceful settlement of the Hong Kong and Macao issues (territories respectively under British and Portuguese control).

It is envisaged that the capitalist economic system and the present political system would continue in Taiwan for at least 50 years after reunification. The

island would have its own armed forces and would exercise its foreign economic ties independently. Neither troops nor administrative personnel would be sent to Taiwan from the continental part of China. The autonomy of the island would be limited only in one area - in world affairs it would be represented by the People's Republic of China.

While approving the concept of one nation, the Guomindang authorities nevertheless reject these proposals. The burden of the past - ideological hostility, mistrust and fear - weighs heavy on them. True, trade with China by private firms through third parties and the contacts of islanders with their relatives on the mainland are tolerated by the Taiwan authorities. But this is all Taibei permits.

The Taiwan problem is being aggravated by U.S. interference. In violation of its agreements with China, Washington supplies large quantities of weapons to Taibei (worth more than 700 million dollars a year) and is helping Taiwan establish its own arms industry. The protection of the freedom of Taiwan, Washington claims, remains one of the most important elements of American policy, and the United States must do everything to maintain the island's security.

Refusing to promote the Peking-Taibei dialogue, Washington demands that China provide "guarantees" of its peaceful intentions on the Taiwan question. Such a line is naturally viewed in Peking as interference in China's internal affairs, raising obstacles in the way of relations between the two countries. Peking has repeatedly warned Washington that if, through the latter's fault, peaceful negotiations do not start in the Strait of Taiwan, China will have to resort to force.

It is against this political background that the Guomindang authorities have proclaimed a programme of liberalization in Taiwan. Under the new legislation the dictatorial powers of the military command and security service of the regime will be restricted, the practice of bringing civilians to trial by court-martial ended, and a certain "freedom of manoeuvre" granted to the press.

There will be a legal possibility of forming opposition political parties. A new organization - the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) - was set up last September, true without official permission. The intention has been announced to speed up the process of rejuvenation and democratization in the ruling Guomindang party.

The democratization of the Taibei regime can only be welcomed. But the processes under way on the island have many reefs.

First, martial law has been replaced by a law on state security, which the opposition DPP immediately characterized, not without reason, as "old wine in a new bottle." Article 2 of the law says that meetings and citizens' organizations "ought not to violate the Constitution or support communism."

It follows from Article 9 of the same law that persons convicted by a military tribunal will not be permitted to appeal to civil courts after martial law has been repealed. The registration of political parties by the government, required under the law on state security, will enable the Guomindang, spokesmen for the DPP point out, to rule, as before, by big-stick methods.

Second, the Guomindang leaders do not seem to have given up their obstructionist approach to negotiations with China. As before, threats are being made against those who favour a dialogue with Peking. This means that the

changes on the island are not aimed at resolving the main problem - the reunification of the country.

Third, calls for the independence of Taiwan can be heard in the ranks of the opposition. It is claimed that slogans of this kind are being advanced merely for tactical purposes, as "an effective means of drawing a clear-cut line" between the DPP programme and the policy of the Guomindang which, in particular, still hopes to reunite the nation after "having abolished communism and Communist Party power on the mainland." In any case, separatism is a dangerous tendency, and the government and people of China are unlikely to put up with it.

Fourth, and this is perhaps the most important factor: the Taiwan separatists have influential patrons overseas. In recent years U.S. Congress has more than once passed resolutions favouring the idea of the "self-determination" of Taiwan. What is more, separatist leaders have been invited to take part in the drafting and discussion of these resolutions. Support for Taiwan's "self-determination" was proclaimed in the programme documents of the Republican Party. A recent statement by Democratic Senator Paul Simon, who has put forward his candidacy for the presidency, may be recalled here. The United States, he said, "should recognize the existence of both Taiwan and mainland China, just as it has done with the two Germanies."

The White House does not dare openly support the advocates of Taiwan's "independence." There is no doubt, however, that the Reagan administration seeks to retain the island as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" and a bastion of anti-communism in the Pacific. Peking has repeatedly pointed to these designs on Washington's part.

Washington's policy on the Taiwan issue has been aptly expressed by a top State Department official: to find a formula that will help postpone the effective merger of the two parts of China within the lifetime of several generations to come.

In other words, the Reagan administration is afraid to advocate de jure independence, but will seek to achieve the de facto independence of Taiwan. This explains why it welcomes the tendency towards a limited liberalization of the Guomindang regime. The White House is seeking to prevent the political processes that have undermined the U.S. position in the Philippines and South Korea.

It remains to be seen how the situation develops further. Reports from Taibei say that support for a constructive dialogue with China is growing on the island, especially among young people not blinded ideologically by the Guomindang leaders. It is quite possible that as a result of the current changes, their voice will be heard more clearly on the island.

EVGENY BAZHANOV

It happened in Lvov

In the autumn of 1943 the nazis executed two thousand Italian soldiers and officers in Lvov. Not long ago a special commission from the General Staff of the Italian Army, headed by Deputy Minister of Defence Tommaso Bisagno, went to that city to investigate the circumstances of those tragic events. The U.S.S.R. Prosecutor's Office supplied the members of the commission and the press with evidence relating to that monstrous crime.

I can now visualize quite distinctly what happened here 44 years ago...

We were driving down a shady, tree-lined street leading to the Lisinichi woods. Little seems to have changed since then. The same two- and three-story houses on either side of the street, the same fanlike pattern of the cobblestone pavement. And the luxuriant green of the plane trees.

"It's even lovelier in autumn," my companion, a native of Lvov, remarked. "Then it is a blaze of red and gold..."

"The ground was heaving..."

It was down this street, then called Lychakovskaya, that 44 years ago nazis marched a column of Italian army men. Ahead of the column and along both sides rode armed motorcyclists. The kindhearted local inhabitants, moved by pity for men they sensed were in trouble, threw apples, pears and small bundles of food down to the Italians who had come here as conquerors and were now prisoners themselves. The motorcycle guard responded with bursts of fire at windows and balconies of the houses. Later, the sound of shooting was heard for a long time from the direction of the woods.

The Italian soldiers and officers were brought here not only on foot, but in trucks and by train, for there was a railway siding leading to a nearby sandpit. That track is still there. Roman Zakharchuk, who lives in the vicinity, was a boy at that time and he used to go to the woods regularly. Not out of curiosity. The nazis had arrested his father and the lad feared he might be among those who were brought here to be executed. He recalls that on one occasion he saw a train of 20 cars with boarded-up windows stop there. Some 50 unarmed soldiers disembarked from the first car.

For a time nothing happened. The men seemed not to know why the train had stopped. They sang, accompanying themselves on guitars and strumming mandolins. Presently soldiers in black SS uniforms began taking groups of them down into a ravine. Soon shots rang out. Pandemonium broke loose! The men cursed, wept, some fell on their knees to pray.

The boy ran away in the woods and hid, but from there too he could see what was happening. One by one the prisoners were made to run the gauntlet through rows of gunners down into ready-dug graves, where an SS man put a bullet through the back of their heads....

"When the massacre ended, I went over to that place," Zakharchuk told the members of the Italian commission. "The ground was heaving. And the next day blood seeped through the sand and dripped into the gully."

"How could you tell that the men were Italians?" the Deputy Minister of Defence asked.

"Of course they were Italians. They wore light-blue or light-brown uniforms with four pockets on the tunic, some of them wore puttees. And they all wore trench caps, everyone knew that the Italians wore trench caps with upturned corners," Zakharchuk replied. "If anyone knew about uniforms it was us boys. We had seen Italians many a time in the town."

The Lisinichi woods were one of the

sites of mass killings in Lvov. The invaders killed 200,000 people here - Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, Poles, Italians, Frenchmen, Belgians.... This is recorded in the findings of the Extraordinary Commission which investigated the nazi atrocities in 1944. As was established by the investigation, Italian soldiers and officers were killed not only here, but also in the Janow concentration camp and in the Citadel where Italian army barracks were located. Among recently discovered eyewitnesses is 86-year-old Maria Khomko.

At that time she had worked as a cook at the post office. At the end of September 1943 (it was a Friday, she remembers, because Friday was a meatless day), a Gestapo man came to her chief Karol Shatz. After a brief conversation, Shatz ordered Maria to put on a dark overall, take a pail and a floor rag and follow the officer. He led her across the street to a red brick barrack building. Three other women with pails were standing in the yard. They were all led into a room which within a few minutes began to fill with Italian soldiers and officers, clean shaven and in dress uniform. The nazi gave a command and the Italians proceeded to empty their pockets of papers, money, medallions, family photos and letters. The men in black uniforms put on their helmets. Sensing that something horrible was about to happen, the women wanted to leave, but were ordered to remain. Another oder was barked in German, and two Gestapo men began shooting point-blank at the unarmed Italians. When the bodies were removed, the women were ordered to wash the floor clean and polish it till it shone....

DIRECTIVE No. 005282

Why did the nazis start killing the Italians, their allies?

Julian Shulmeister, a former military prosecutor and a lawyer by profession, a man who for many years has been collecting data on nazi atrocities in Lvov, recalls:

"On July 25, 1943, Mussolini was arrested and Marshal Badoglio became head of the Italian government. On September 8 he announced that Italy was ceasing hostilities. On September 15 the Wehrmacht high command issued directive No. 005282 which laid down that all Italian servicemen who refused to fight on the side of Germany would be interned. Those who offered active or passive resistance were to be shot on the spot. The nazis' interpretation of 'passive resistance' was extremely loose.

"It may be assumed that on receiving this order the nazi command summoned the top officers of the Italian garrison and gave them two or three days to decide whether they would continue to fight on Germany's side.

"When they refused, the nazis contrived to disarm the Italian troops, saying that they were to be interned and sent back to Italy. That explains why the Italians were in such high spirits, singing and strumming guitars, as witnesses have testified. What happened afterwards you know.

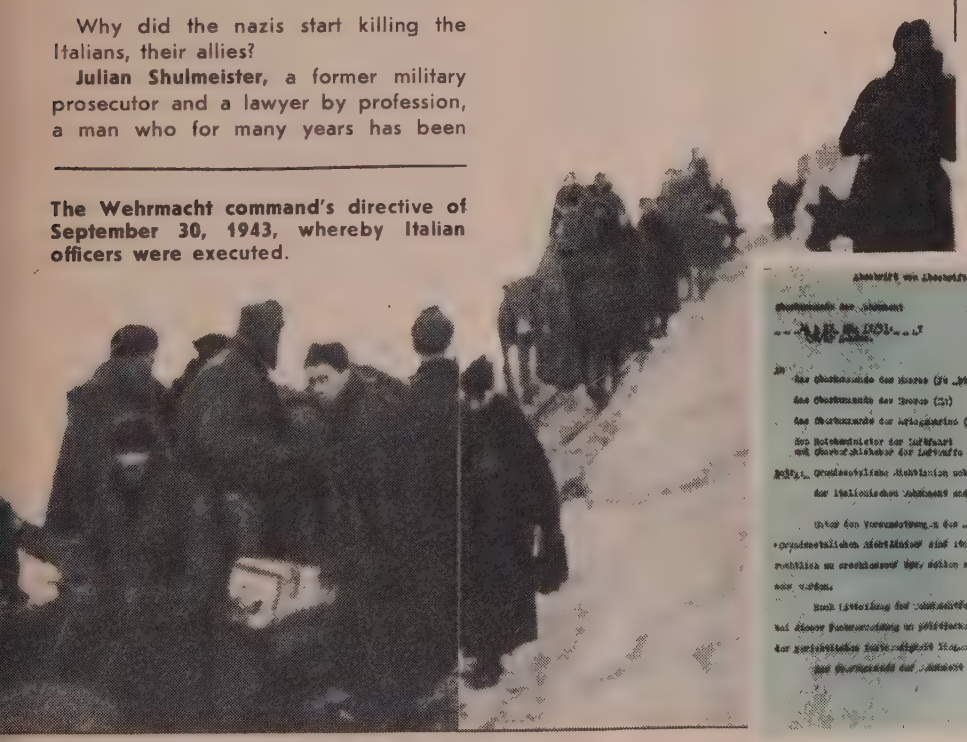
"The nazis tried to cover up the traces of their crimes. At the end of 1943 a so-called "death brigade" of 126 inmates of the Janow concentration camp was formed. At gunpoint the doomed men dug up corpses from graves, stacked them up, soaked them in petrol and burned them. Whatever remained was run through a bone crusher and the ashes were scattered. A few members of the "death brigade" managed to escape. The testimony of these men - Genrykh Khamaides, Mendel Gerner and others is preserved in Soviet archives. In 1944 they testified before the Extraordinary Commission that among the corpses were some dressed in Italian army uniforms. Incidentally, also preserved in the archives is the testimony of Nina Pietruszkowna, a Polish interpreter at Italian headquarters, that in the autumn of 1943 the nazis in Lvov shot two thousand Italians. She mentioned the names of 45 Italian officers she had known personally. These data were among the evidence that figured at the Nuremberg trial."

However, the story of the Lvov killings did not end there. On December 23, 1944, Pravda published the findings of an investigation in Lvov. One of those who worked with the Extraordinary Commission at the time was the writer **Vladimir Belyaev.** I met him recently in Moscow and, although many years have passed, he clearly remembers the Lvov of 1944.

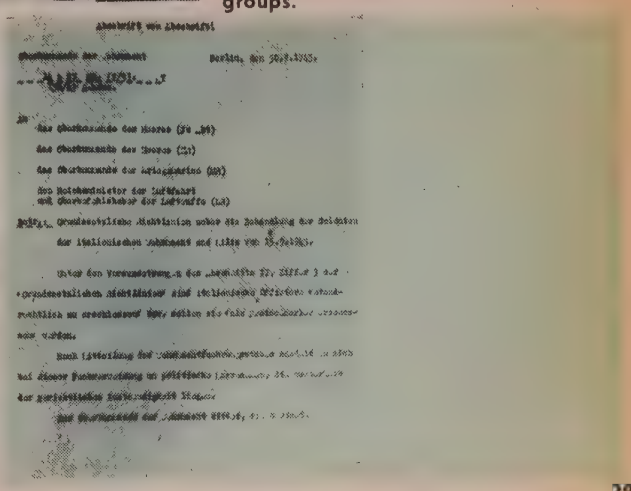
"Among the mass of evidence submitted to the commission there was one story that particularly astounded us - the killing by the nazis of Italians," Belayev began. "At first it seemed quite incredible. What connection could there be between Italy and Lvov! And why would the nazis shoot their allies, the subjects of an axis country! But gradually to the story of the first witness more and more details were added, and finally we found someone who not only knew about the tragedy of the Italians who met their death in a deep ravine in Lychakovo on the outskirts of Lvov, but actually named some of the victims.

"It turned out that the rear echelon of the Ritrovo Italiano garrison had been stationed in Lvov. Lvov was an important transit point on the way from Italy to the Eastern Front. Through it passed army units transferred from the Mediterranean coast to the Volga, and it was natural that the Italian command should have its transshipment centre here.

"In the postwar years I continued my search for witnesses. Knowing that a good many of them could be living in Poland, I turned for help to Polish newsmen. Before long letters began pouring in from the Polish People's Republic from people belonging to a wide range of professional and age groups."



The Wehrmacht command's directive of September 30, 1943, whereby Italian officers were executed.



Belayev produced a folder from his personal files containing time-yellowed letters from witnesses.

Here are some of them.

Severian Jasienicki: "They shot them, and with the Prussian instinct for letting nothing go to waste, they stripped their victims of their uniforms and buried them naked."

Anna Kowalczyk: "...I saw the Italians marching through the streets of Lvov smiling, singing and playing their guitars. When the fascists took them to the Lychakovo (Lisinichi - **B.B.**) woods and ordered them to dig pits in a gully in the middle of the left side of the woods, one of the prisoners managed to escape. I remember as if it were yesterday how that Italian ran naked to my aunt who lived in that same woods in a little house with a veranda. He was still a young lad, unshaven. My aunt gave him clothes and told him to hide in the attic. But the nazis started hunting for him and he lost his nerve, and at one point he came out of his hiding place and tried to run away. They shot him and took the body away with them into the woods."

Thus, the facts relating to the massacre of the Italians were established by Soviet investigating bodies, and the search for eyewitnesses was instituted by a Soviet writer. What was done in Italy?

In June 1959, Vladimir Belyaev published an article about the Lvov atrocities in the Literaturnaya Gazeta, and a year later, another one, in Komsomolskaya Pravda. These articles evoked a stormy reaction in the Italian press. A number of newspapers - Paese Sera, l'Unita, the weekly Epoca and others started a lively discussion about the fate of the Italian army in Russia.

But whenever press comments on the events near Lvov appear, the Italian authorities seem to close their eyes to them.

A mistake!

A new wave of interest in the Lvov affair was started by the publication in l'Unita of an article by the well-known writer Jiulietto Chiesa "The unknown Cephalonia. The story of the two thousand Italian soldiers slaughtered by the nazis in 1943." An interpellation in parliament by Communist deputies addressed to Defence Minister Giovanni Spadolini followed. He promised to institute an inquiry. But General Giuseppe Joli, the man in charge of the archives of the history department of the Italian General Staff and chairman of the Association of Veterans of the War in Russia, maintains that there are no documents in the files that would confirm the Lvov tragedy. "There was no massacre by the Germans, if there was one, it was the Russians who did it," he said.

Whereupon Giulietto Chiesa got in touch with the Soviet investigator Julian Shulmeister and asked him to find living witnesses of the tragedy. Shulmeister enlisted the assistance of the pupils of six Lvov schools. They made the rounds of many houses and questioned the local inhabitants. In this way new witnesses were found, among them those I have already mentioned.

The Lisinichi woods. "The nazis shot Italian soldiers here," Roman Zakharchuk (far right) says. From left to right: Leonid Izosimov, the prosecutor of the Lvov Region; Sergio Romano, the Italian ambassador in the U.S.S.R.; Tommaso Bisagno, Deputy Defence Minister.
Photo by B. Krishtul

A TASS report to this effect on January 30 this year caused a storm of indignation in Italy. A number of political leaders sharply criticized Defence Minister Spadolini for having done practically nothing in the past two years to fulfil his promise to parliament. Justifying himself, he said he was not in possession of any information about mass shootings of Italians in the Lvov area. "This is simply a scandalous mistake," he said. But what about the large quantity of eyewitness testimony and documentary evidence that has been made public?

All that Spadolini could say was that he had been misunderstood. However, this was not enough to hush up the scandal. And so Rome set up a special General Staff commission of inquiry, headed by Deputy Defence Minister Bisagno.

On February 26 this year the U.S.S.R. Prosecutor's Office instituted criminal proceedings to establish the truth about the shooting of the Italian servicemen. The Lvov Prosecutor's Office was entrusted with the investigation. The investigators found and questioned more than 60 witnesses. Officials of the prosecutor's office went recently to Poland to take down the evidence of nine persons, three of whom - Andrzej Michniewski, Czeslaw Filipiek and Henryk Strupczewski - had witnessed the shootings. Their accounts coincide with the evidence already in hand. And although the investigation is still going on - its objective is also to track down the perpetrators of the crimes - the fact of the wholesale killings has been established beyond doubt.

Does the Italian side consider this conclusive? I put this question in Lvov to the Italian Deputy Defence Minister.

"Our visit has been useful," Tommaso Bisagno replied. "What we have seen will be examined by the commission and will help to obtain a clearer idea of the situation. We also have testimony received from Poland and the F.R.G. where we were afforded the opportunity to collect a large quantity of archive material. We are due to go to Czechoslovakia and the G.D.R. After which, the commission will compare the data obtained.At any rate this visit to the U.S.S.R. has strengthened our desire to get to the truth. Italy wants to know the truth about what happened in Lvov."

"Do you personally, Senor Bisagno, concede that the nazis executed Italians in Lvov?"

"I cannot confirm that fact, but neither can I exclude it. According to our information , there were no Italian troops in Lvov by September 8, 1943. The Italians in question may possibly have been our soldiers taken prisoner and brought here by the Germans from France, Italy and the Balkans."

It might well be that the specific circumstances and the status of the commission prevented it from any display of emotion and obliged it to be impartial and cautious in its judgements. The commission has not yet announced its findings, but it should be reminded that it was to them that Adolf Vislovsky, an eyewitness of the shootings, appealed when he asked that a monument be raised at the site of the execution of the Italian soldiers. Yes, Italy must know the truth. It is a pity that efforts to get at the truth have been delayed for 44 years. And, of course, it is not a matter of raising a monument - a monument to the memory of the victims of the nazis could be erected by our country. The important thing is not the memorial but the memory.

BORIS BALKAREI
our special correspondent

Lvov - Moscow

Culture: a mirror of national character

A talk with Academician Dmitry Likhachev about the problems of cultural heritage, respect for our own culture and that of other peoples.

Photo by Yuri Rost

Even while in Rome on a visit, he thought about things Russian.He explored the city, took notes, walked a lot, climbed the eternal Roman hills, lingered before ancient ruins, admired what he saw - but never stopped thinking about home.

"Amazing people, these Italians," Dmitry Likhachev said. "The city is choked with cars, people waste so much time in traffic jams, but relics of the past are still there. It doesn't even occur to anyone to pull a building down to widen a street. It's wonderful. Such an attitude to what has come down to us from the past is not the rule in our country. Russians often try to re-make everything entirely. Recall, for instance, Prince Vladimir, the baptizer of Rus - he had abandoned paganism outright, both the good and the bad in it together. The adoption of Christianity was a step forward, of course, but I think the changeover to it involved a great deal of violence. Later we had Ivan the Terrible, and then Peter the Great. Our own century has also witnessed endless dramatic destruction. Historical upheavals and tragedies always involve sacrfices. But it would be for better if people, as they ascend to new heights, did not leave the best of their old values behind. In our towns, new construction has often been thoughtless."

"But Rome has also gone through upheavals and destruction, and been rebuilt many times."

"The Italians have a keen sense of history. They preserve even ruins which they merely find appealing to the eye. With us, if a building is pronounced decrepit, it is doomed. Had the Italians used this criterion, they would have lost all their historic structures. In Rome, the surviving columns, the remnants of the Colosseum and ancient edifices add up to give the city its unique atmosphere. And in Moscow, a leaking roof is reason enough for pulling down an old house just off the Arbat."

"Why don't our architects and restorers learn from the Italians?"

"Because they're too conceited. One often hears phrases like: 'I know, I know.' Indeed, many have been to Italy, but don't seem to have adopted what's part of the Italian people's national character - love for relics of the past which they take great pains to preserve. Look, high-rise buildings are erected for the most part in Rome's new neighbourhoods. By contrast, our architects seek to squeeze their creations into the most beautiful old parts of our cities. It's a case of lack of professional vision.

"If they decide to restore a building in our country, the first question they ask themselves is what period it dates from: the early 18th-, the late 18th-, the early 19th-century, or whatever. I think, a building must be restored not merely to its original appearance, but with all the later additions (except quite worthless ones) left in place. To my mind, the Italians restore old buildings in a more professional way than we do.

"Respect for the past involves many ethical problems. Attitudes to old buildings can be compared with attitudes to the aged, to the sick, to national traditions, to your country, if you will. The problem of preserving historic towns and old buildings is first and foremost a moral problem. Young people are changing, after all. Not because they have been told to, but on an inner impulse, out of their awareness that we have reached the limit of disrespect for the past. Each country exists not only in space, but also in time. It is important to bear this in mind, otherwise one can lose sight of an important dimension, and think in terms of a flat surface rather than of a monumental cube, if I may say so. And all you can do with a flat surface is put up matchbox-shaped buildings on it."

"In other words, monuments of architecture are a part of our heritage the knowledge of which is indispensable to any cultured person...."

"Man is a miracle of sorts. Tolstoy saw deep into Anna Karenina, a woman. Dostoyevsky understood the motives of Raskolnikov, a criminal. The distinguishing feature of a human being is that he can put himself in somebody else's place. Acting is a fine example of that. So I think people should learn to understand other national cultures and gain an insight into them. This requires knowledge and understanding of one's own culture, from its sources to the present time. The more we know about ancient Russian literature, the better we shall understand the medieval literature and culture of Europe and Asia. Nature has endowed man with extraordinary mental and spiritual flexibility. It must be developed and cultivated. This is what makes people cultured.

"What is a cultured person? Being cultured means being able to master other cultures, to perceive them aesthetically and historically. Aesthetics affords access to another culture. The easiest way to understand the Chinese, for instance, is through their art. The same is true of Japn, and of our own culture, too. Knowledge of the age of Peter the Great will give us a better understanding of Leningrad, of all the changes that have taken place since, of the 18th-century literature from which Pushkin emerged and, finally, of the significance of our

own time, of our revolution, and of Soviet literature. I believe that getting to know different cultures is a way of learning more about ourselves, our achievements and shortcomings, and our responsibilities to the future.

Art and the humanities help us discover other worlds in our own. It is also their mission to reconcile all nations with one another for, if we have cognized another nation's culture, we cannot possibly destroy it."

"Why is it then that secondary schools and universities are tending to encroach upon the humanities and replace general education with narrow professional training?"

"The humanities must be given more time at secondary-school level. A course in the history of the arts must be introduced there. Secondary-school pupils must be taught logic because we do not know how to argue, and are unable to see things from the point of view of someone who refutes our arguments or objects to us. The school should teach its pupils to learn, leaving it to them to choose the professions that suit them best. This is the only way to make work a blessing rather than a curse. The new thinking we are now talking so much about ought to start by adopting a new approach to school education, I think, if we are to educate a generation for which work will be a creative process. If we do not promote the humanities, this objective will never come within our reach. Teaching the humanities means teaching the language, among other things. We simply must learn the art of putting our thoughts into words. One's language discloses the innermost recesses of one's spiritual world. A rich language bespeaks a rich mentality. When the languages of certain minor ethnic groups disappear to be replaced by, say, English or, indeed, any other language, it's great misfortune. All languages must be preserved by recording and publicizing them. Let the members of small ethnic groups speak their native languages at home while speaking widely used ones, which have accumulated a wealth of scientific terms and produced great literatures, at school. All languages, however limited, must be preserved."

"You've mentioned the importance of assimilating and understanding a different culture. There are many ways of doing that, one of which is to see it. One can only truly appreciate architecture and painting, especially in a country like Italy, at first hand. At the same time, not all those wishing to get such first-hand impressions have a chance to do so."

"We must consider offering our young people more opportunities for travel, because the impressions absorbed by young minds are the deepest, and most productive. They are lifelong. In one's formative years, as one is acquiring an education, one must see other countries. Travel makes life more interesting and adds to the individual's appreciation of his own country. It is precisely for lack of knowledge of other countries that we Russians often fail to appreciate our own. We do not think much of our heritage and our towns because we haven't seen those in other countries. Travel will involve money problems, of course. Well, we'll have to make some sacrifices."

ART LEADS TO RECONCILE ALL NATIONS WITH ONE ANOTHER. AFTER ALL, IF WE HAVE COGNIZED ANOTHER NATION'S CULTURE, WE CANNOT POSSIBLY DESTROY IT.

"In the EEC countries, youngsters take precedence over adult tourists during school vacations. In that period, most adults stay away from museums and theatres, leaving them to children. French schoolchildren go to Italy, and Italian ones to Britain by bus or plane on cut-price tours. As they see the world, they learn to appreciate its beauty."

"I don't think that the Italians owe their artistic learnings to travel alone. They are in their blood.

"It occurs to me, again and again, that we know too little about the past. The trouble is that we do not have a well-written and readable book on the history of the country. Karamzin? He was a fine historian, but his works are almost 200 years old. Solovyov? Fundamental, but too academic. What we need is a concise account of historical events intended for the general reader. Look how many fine historical books there are in Britain, for readers of various ages, with magnificent illustrations. We don't even have albums of old photographs. Recently I looked through an album of old French photographs. It contains, for instance, a picture of Sevastopol taken at the moment the French troops were marching into it. What about us? This is our city, a page of our heroic history. Why hasn't it occurred to anyone to illustrate Leo Tolstoy's "Sebastopol" with Russian photographs of those times? They would only add to the impact of the book."

"Will the establishment of the Soviet Culture Fund be of help in solving these problems? What hopes do you pin on this Fund?"

"It is difficult to tackle all problems at once. We have a number of programmes. One programme is connected with Pushkin. It aims at putting his vast and valuable heritage in order. Moreover, we want every Pushkin birthday to become a Day of Culture. We have Aviation Day, Textile Industry Day, Radio Day, but no Day of Culture. The poet's birthday falls in early summer when schoolchildren go on holiday. So everyone would be able to take part in the celebrations.

We also have a youth programme. We want local history to be taught in schools. It inculcates love of the place one lives in. The more one knows of the history of one's home parts, the more one will love them. This subject is not to be restricted to history proper. It is to give pupils a better idea of the art, traditions and folk customs, of their home town, of everything to be carefully preserved. Regional studies boomed in Lenin's time, but later, in the mid-twenties, were discontinued.

"One of the missions of the Soviet Culture Fund is to retrieve many national treasures which have found their way abroad. If they are on display in other countries' museums, this is only to be rejoiced in. Such exhibits give museum-goers an idea of our culture. There are relics, however, which do not get into museums and which even perish. I mean, for instance, the archives of old Russian families who have for various reasons settled abroad.

"Moreover, we want our museums to represent countries and arts which we know little about. We simply must acquaint ourselves with those countries' cultures. And another thing: many cultural treasures, buried in our libraries and in manuscript departments, still remain obscure. Besides Russian manuscripts, we have a wealth of very fine French, Greek and Irish ones. Their publication would be the best propaganda for our attitude to culture and bear evidence of our readiness to revive forgotten values."

Rome

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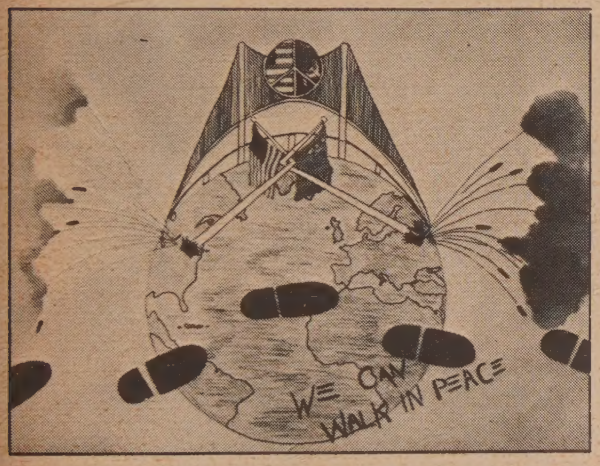
Child diplomacy

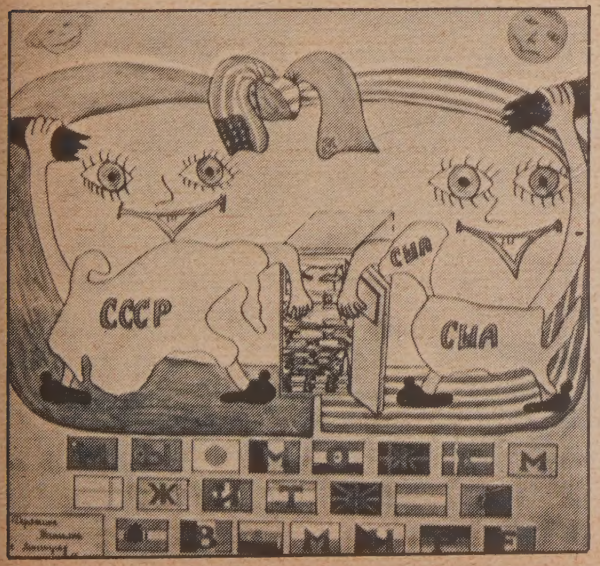
"We can walk in peace," Soviet and American child artists say. An exhibition of their posters, held recently, in Moscow and Yerevan under this slogan, is now on display in the United States.

Some years ago Sherry Lynn Beidrzyski, a 12-year-old schoolgirl from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, composed a song called "We can walk in peace." A year later, the song won her first prize at the Aaron Copeland International Young Performers' Competition in New York. In 1985, Sherry Lynn sent letters to the leaders of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. asking them to do their utmost in Geneva to rule out a world war.

A year later, Sherry Lynn sent a poster to Moscow. Its subject was friendship between Soviet and American children, and this suggested the idea of holding a Soviet-American exhibition of children's drawings.

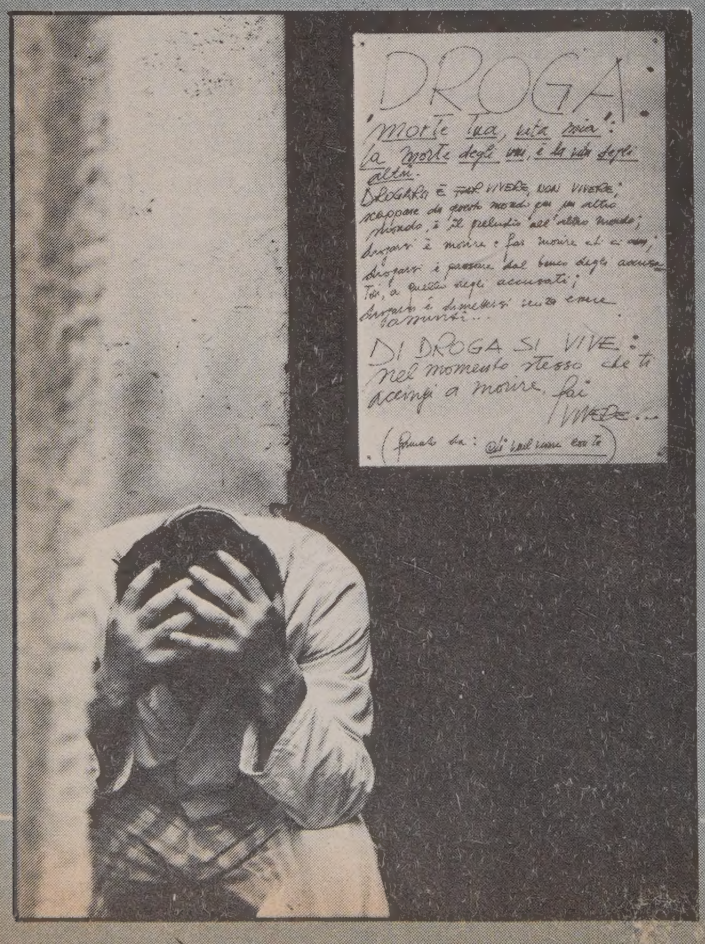
When drawing the earth, a child never divides it into continents and states. For a child, our planet is merely a projection of its magic world, a common home in which there is no room for weapons and war.





Posters from the exhibition:
Chris Rodriguez, 14, U.S.A.
Claire Ericson, 12, U.S.A.
Tanya Deryazhina, 15, U.S.S.R.
Ira Aliluyeva, 16, U.S.S.R.

Children.


DROGA
Morte tua, vita mia!
la morte degli uni è la vita degli altri.
DROGATO È: non VIVERE, non VIVERE,
scoprire da giovani, con un altro
mondo, il "Paradiso" nell'altro mondo;
desiderare di morire e fare morire chi ci vuole
disperati e possessivi dal buio degli occhi
Tuoi, a quelli degli accecati;
drogato è diventare cieco e non
saperlo più...
DI DROGA SI VIVE:
nel momento stesso che ti
accingi a morire. Poi
VIVERE...

A drug addict.

INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND

Alfred La Piccirella (Italy)

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ